CONCEPTUALIZING URBICIDE: SPACE, MEMORY, WAR, AND NECROPOLITICS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

SİBEL BEKİROĞLU

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

OCTOBER 2023

Approval of the thesis:

CONCEPTUALIZING URBICIDE: SPACE, MEMORY, WAR, AND NECROPOLITICS

submitted by **SİBEL BEKİROĞLU** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences _____

Prof. Dr. Ayşe SAKTANBER
Head of Department
Department of Sociology _____

Prof. Dr. Helga RITTERSBERGER-TILIÇ
Supervisor
Department of Sociology _____

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Özlem GÜZEY-KOCATAŞ (Head of the Examining Committee)
Gazi University
Department of City and Regional Planning _____

Prof. Dr. Helga RITTERSBERGER-TILIÇ (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology _____

Prof. Dr. M. Ertan KARDEŞ
İstanbul University
Department of Philosophy _____

Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kemal BAYIRBAĞ
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. M. Barış KUYMULU
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology _____

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Sibel BEKİROĞLU

Signature:

ABSTRACT

CONCEPTUALIZING URBICIDE: SPACE, MEMORY, WAR, AND NECROPOLITICS

BEKİROĞLU, Sibel
Ph.D., The Department of Sociology
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Helga RITTERSBERGER-TILIÇ

October 2023, 458 pages

This study is an attempt to specify the limits of the urban and wonders what happens if it is transcended through destruction. Urbicide is a conceptual tool put forward by urban planners, architects, and researchers to understand the new urban situation that emerges as a result of the destruction of the urban fabric through war. Although this conceptual tool provides great convenience in defining this new situation that emerges in the war zones of the globe, it has been incomplete in terms of providing a systematized definition. This thesis presents a seminal and noteworthy contribution to the extant literature by offering an exhaustive study of the notion of urban genocide. The study delves deep into four major constituents of the concept, namely, space, time, constitutive violence, and power relations. The purpose of this research is to gain an in-depth understanding of the urban phenomena observed in these areas of destruction, utilizing sociological methodologies rooted in the established body of literature on urbicide. In this context, the focus of the thesis will be solely on the matter of urban fabric destruction and violence, specifically examining the impact on collective memory resulting from a necropolitical approach.

Keywords: Urbicide, memory, rhythmanalysis, war, necropolitics

ÖZ

KENTKIRIMI KAVRAMSALLAŞTIRMAK: MEKÂN, BELLEK, SAVAŞ VE NEKROPOLİTİKA

BEKİROĞLU, Sibel
Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Helga RITTERSBERGER-TILIÇ

Ekim 2023, 458 sayfa

Bu çalışma, kentsel olanın sınırlarını belirlemeye yönelik bir girişimdir ve yıkım yoluyla aşılması durumunda ne olacağını merak etmektedir. Kentkırım, savaş yoluyla kentsel dokunun yıkımı sonucunda ortaya çıkan yeni kentsel durumu anlamaya yönelik şehir plancıları, mimarlar ve araştırmacılar tarafından ortaya atılmış kavramsal bir araçtır. Her ne kadar bu kavramsal araç, yer kürenin olduğu savaş alanlarında ortaya çıkan bu yeni durumu tanımlamada büyük bir kolaylık sağlasa da sistematikleşmiş bir tanımını ortaya koyma açısından eksik kalmıştır. Bu tez, kentkırım kavramına ilişkin kapsamlı bir çalışma sunarak mevcut literatüre ufuk açıcı ve kayda değer bir katkı sunmaktadır. Çalışma, kavramın dört ana bileşeni olan mekân, zaman, kurucu şiddet ve güç ilişkilerini derinlemesine incelemektedir. Bu araştırmanın amacı, kentkırıma ilişkin yerleşik literatüre dayanan sosyolojik metodolojileri kullanarak, bu yıkım alanlarında gözlemlenen kentsel olguları derinlemesine anlamaktır. Bu bağlamda, tezin odak noktası yalnızca kentsel dokunun tahribatı ve şiddet meselesi olacak, özellikle savaş zamanlarında nekropolitik bir yaklaşımdan kaynaklanan kolektif hafıza üzerindeki etkiyi inceleyecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentkırım, hafıza, ritimanaliz, savaş, nekropolitika

[…] Oh dear, Sultan's coin doesn't salaam,
Our death will unshrouded remain.
Serdari, what will happen to our erudite strain?
The short straw will get their due from the long straw.
Oh beloved, flourishings will fall into ruin,
In the aftermath, we shall be revenged[1] *[…].*

To those who lie without shroud's embrace,

To Seher, who gives life to everything she touches,

And to Mecit who made the land of the dead bloom

[1] The verses in question belong to the esteemed bard known as Aşık Serdari. Original text: [...] Padişah sikkesi yâr yâr selam vermiyor / Kefensiz kalacak ölümüz bizim / Serdari hâlımız böyle n'olacak? / Kısa çöp uzundan hakkın alacak / Mamurlar yıkılıp yâr yâr viran olacak / Akıbet alınır öcümüz bizim […]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have immense gratitude towards my esteemed advisor, Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç, for her exceptional mentorship, unwavering dedication to academic excellence, and remarkable personality, which have been invaluable to me. Even in the face of a challenging academic climate, Helga's fearlessness and unwavering support made all the difference. She serves as an excellent academic role model, and I feel blessed to have had the opportunity to work with her. I wish all students writing a thesis had the privilege of working with an advisor as exceptional as her.

I extend my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Özlem Güzey Kocataş, who served as a member of my Proficiency Jury, for her invaluable feedback that boosted my confidence and motivation to complete my thesis. I also want to express my appreciation to Aysu Kes Erkul for her significant role in the initial stages of the thesis idea. I owe a special thanks to Prof. Dr. Ertan Kardeş, who has been a steadfast supporter in times of unfairness and has served as a model academic for me. I have always had a deep regard for and found immense inspiration in his endeavors. I am grateful for his presence and take pride in including his name in this project that has spanned seven years. I am deeply grateful to Asst. Prof. Dr. Barış Kuymulu for being the only academic to extend a warm welcome to me upon my return to METU after a suspension. Not only did he generously agree to serve on my jury, but he also greeted me with kindness and understanding. Finally, I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Mustafa Kemal Bayırbağ for sharing his expertise on urbicide during a casual conversation and for introducing me to other scholars in the field. His feedback strengthened my thesis, and I am indebted to him for his contributions. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. Chris Hables Gray, a kind and revolutionary spirit from Santa Cruz, whose unwavering support and international solidarity have been a guiding light during my many trials and tribulations. Equally deserving of my heartfelt appreciation is Prof. Dr. Eamonn Carrabine, who graciously provided invaluable guidance and support in response to a paper I sent during a conference, displaying both his empathy and compassion. I am truly fortunate to have such amazing individuals in my life.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Mehrdad Emami, Dicle Paşa, and Şerife Sevinç for their invaluable theoretical guidance and support throughout my thesis journey. I would also like to thank Sevde Durmuş, whose cheerful memories of my time at the Philosophy Department at METU. Lastly, I am thankful for the wonderful personalities of Mehtap Tosun and Didem Şalgam Poyraz, who have provided me with invaluable academic insights and support during my time at METU Sociology. During the thesis writing process, my students were my biggest supporters. They showed unwavering support when I challenged my suspension and warmly welcomed me upon my return with a bouquet of flowers from METU. However, my dear student Begüm Kırık will remain with me as a wound. I am grateful you graced this world with your vibrant and colorful presence.

Also, I express my sincere gratitude to the Political Prisoners who, despite their current situation, have shown immense interest and enthusiasm toward my work. They are always in the back of my mind in my happy moments. Of course, this thesis would not have been possible without the contribution and dedication of my interviewers and field partners in Diyarbakır. Their dedication and support have been an indispensable source of inspiration throughout this academic endeavor, and for that, I am forever grateful.

I am grateful for Hüsnü Yıldız's constant support throughout my academic journey. His encouragement sustained me during moments of doubt, and his technical assistance was indispensable in creating this thesis. While we may not have the opportunity to collaborate in an academic setting, I remain hopeful that life will give us the chance to produce great work together in the future.

My non-biological sister Sinem Erdal Koptekin has been a constant source of support and companionship. From our days sitting side by side in high school to our evenings listening to Ahmet Kaya in the attic, and through all the times in between, I am forever grateful for her presence in my life. I also owe a debt of gratitude to her wonderful husband Hamit and their lovely son Rüzgâr. Additionally, my lawyer and longtime friend Cemil Adıyaman has always provided unwavering composure, compassion, and legal knowledge. I sincerely thank him and look forward to meeting his daughter, who is soon to be born.

I am deeply grateful to Merve Fidan, who stood by me through the most challenging stages of academia, the toughest moments, and the most trying times. Her unwavering support and academic guidance were invaluable during the days when joy and sorrow intertwined. And I extend my heartfelt appreciation to Utku Tatar, whose kind-hearted nature and delightful sense of humor made my last two years an absolute joy.

I express my deepest regret for the belated encounter with the Celeps, namely Betül Celep, Eda Celep, and Feyza Celep. Their presence has brought immense joy to my life and enriched it with vibrant hues.

My beloved mother, Seher Bekiroğlu, has been an invaluable source of guidance throughout my life. Her unwavering support, indomitable spirit, and strong sense of justice have been a constant inspiration to me. Similarly, my father, Hüseyin Bekiroğlu, has always been a role model to me with his tireless work ethic and innovative spirit. I am deeply grateful for all this remarkable man has done to enrich my life. I would like to thank my dear brother Ahmet Bekiroğlu, who has always been supportive. I am fortunate to have grown up with him, who has always been a source of inspiration with his positive outlook, loving heart, and boundless compassion. I want to express my gratitude to Açelya Demirtaş Bekiroğlu, who is like a sister to me. As the daughter of Sibel Demirtaş, I hope she will always be by my side with her determined and empathetic personality. My dear nephew Aras Bekiroğlu, I cannot thank you enough for the joy and awareness you bring to my life. And I would like to thank Hilal Asilkan, whom I want to be with you in all your achievements, and I look forward to your continued presence in my life. And, of course, I am grateful for Mişka, who taught me patience, to remain different, and to forgive.

I want to express my deep gratitude to my dearest love and life partner, Mecit Odlukaya, for his constant support that helped me surmount numerous obstacles throughout the duration of the dissertation. Without Mecit's love, compassion, and wholehearted commitment, this thesis would have remained a mere idea. Thank you for everything!

I wish this thesis had never been written! In the hope of establishing a classless, exploitation-free, and just world where all living beings live freely with their colors and blend into the soil, where oppression and torture are a matter of history!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM iii

ABSTRACT iv

ÖZ v

DEDICATION vi

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS vii

TABLE OF CONTENTS x

LIST OF APPENDICIES xvi

LIST OF FIGURES xvii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xix

CHAPTERS

1. INTRODUCTION 1

1.1. Research Background 14

1.2. Theoretical Premises of the Research and Conceptual Tools 16

1.3. Significance of the Research and Contribution 19

1.4. Thesis Plan 21

2. RESEARCH DESIGN 24

2.1. Qualitative Decisions and Parrhesia 24

2.2. Ways of Knowing and the Positionality of the Researcher 29

2.3. “Doing Research in Conflict Zones” and the Case of Turkey 40

2.3.1. Legal Challenges 42

2.3.2. Psychological Challenges 44

2.3.3. Security Challenges 48

2.3.4. Ethical Challenges 50

2.3.5. Academic Challenges 54
2.4. Backstage of the Field and Research Environment 56
2.4.1. The First Encountering 56
2.4.2. Adaptation Period 58
2.5. Data Collection and Research Methods 58
2.5.1. In-Depth Interviews 60
2.5.1.1. Interview Questions 62
2.5.2. Photography and Photo Documentation 63
2.5.3. Documents 68
2.5.4. Maps/Mapping 69
2.6. Data Analysis Procedures 72
2.6.1. Transcription: A Form of Inquiry? 73
2.6.2. Coding Procedure 74
2.6.2.1. Pre-Coding 74
2.6.2.2. Coding Methods and Types 75
2.6.2.3. Post-Coding 76
2.6.3. Digital Tools Used in the Research 77
2.7. Orientation for the Method and Methodology 78
3. HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL GAZE AT URBAN IN THE CONTEXT OF DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE AND THE THEORY OF URBICIDE 80
3.1. The Main Streams in Urban Sociology with Lenses of Violence and Destruction 84
3.1.1. Classics 85
3.1.2. Simmel and Benjamin -Metropolis and Urban Experience 90
3.1.3. Chicago School -The First Urbanists 93
3.1.4. Castells -Urban with Social Movements 95

3.1.5. Lefebvrian Turn 97
3.1.6. Political Economy of Urban -Neo-Marxist Stance in Urban Theory 100
3.1.7. Geographical Interposition 104
3.1.8. Post-Modern Urban 108
3.2. Urbicide: Streams, Scales, and Differentiations 110
3.2.1. Three Main Lines in Urbicide Literature 114
3.2.1.1. Urbicide as the Destruction of Heterogeneity 115
3.2.1.2. Urbicide as the Destruction of Symbols that the City Represents 116
3.2.1.3. Urbicide as the Destruction Caused by Military Urbanism Politics 118
3.3. Urban Through Destruction and Ruin 120
4. URBICIDE: THE INTERSECTION OF SPACE, MEMORY, WAR, AND NECROPOLITICS 127
4.1. Space 129
4.1.1. Frames of Space and Place 131
4.1.1.1. De Certeauian Distinction of Space and Place 133
4.1.1.2. Space for Lefebvre 137
4.1.2. The Scenery 142
4.1.2.1. Home and Dwelling or the Poetics of Space 143
4.1.2.2. Streets and Boulevards or Pathways 144
4.1.2.3. Infrastructure or Capillaries of City 147
4.1.3. Body 148
4.1.4. Cardinal Points 150
4.1.4.1. Underground: Archaeological Search 150
4.1.4.2. Land and Sea/: Horizontal Search 151
4.1.4.3. Sky/: Vertical Search 153
4.2. Time 154

4.2.1. History and Time: Regular Sequences and Uniqueness of Each Regular Sequence 157
4.2.2. Collective Memory 159
4.2.2.1. Collective Memory through the Optics of Halbwachs, Connerton, and Nora 159
4.2.2.2. Archive, Museum, and Counter-Archive 163
4.2.2.3. The Commodification of History: Collective Memory as A Fetish 167
4.2.3. Monument 169
4.2.4. Rhythmanalysis 173
4.2.4.1. From Rhythm to Arrhythmia: Different Mobilities and Dressage .. 177
4.2.4.2. Entropy and Syncope 179
4.2.5. Rubbles of Memory 181
4.3. War 185
4.3.1.1. Modernity, and Technology of Death 195
4.3.2. Theoretical Grounds 203
4.3.2.1. Classics of the Literature on War 204
4.3.2.2. Literature on “New Wars” and “Postmodern Wars” 212
4.3.2.3. Paul Virilio and the Architecture of War 214
4.3.4. Fractures of War 216
4.4. Necropolitics 224
4.4.1. Biopolitics: Power over Life 226
4.4.2. From Life to Death 232
4.4.2.1. Sociology of Death 233
4.4.3. Necropolitics: Power of Death 238
4.4.3.1. Mbembe: From Biopolitics to Necropolitics 239
4.5. Urbicide through Space, Time, War, and Necropolitics 242

5. URBICIDE IN DİYARBAKIR, SUR 245
5.1. Theatre of War after 2015 251
5.1.1. Cizre 254
5.1.2. Diyarbakır 257
5.2. Urbicide in Sur 264
5.2.1. Rubble and Death: The Spatial Dimension 268
5.2.1.1. The Social Destruction of Sur 269
5.2.1.1. The Coordinates of Destruction 270
5.2.1.1.1. Plays from Underground: Basements 271
5.2.1.1.2. Mole Paths of War: Alcoves 274
5.2.1.1.3. Hand-made Air Shields: Fabric Roofs 276
5.2.1.2. The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur 279
5.2.1.2.1. From Nest to Weeds Covered Land 279
5.2.1.2.2. From Dead End Streets to Haussmannian Boulevards 284
5.2.1.2.3. From Infrastructure to Rubble 287
5.2.2. Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension 293
5.2.2.1. Moments of Rupture 295
5.2.2.2. The Ruptures in Everyday Life 300
5.2.2.2.1. The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers 301
5.2.2.2.2. Cannonry as Background Music 307
5.2.3.2. The Destruction of Collective Memory 310
5.2.3.2.1. The Destruction of Monuments 313
5.2.3. Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War 330
5.2.3.1. Peace as Exception, Disoriented War, and the Citizens of Necropolis 331
5.2.3.1. The Use of Heavy Weaponry 336

5.2.3.1.1. The Technology of Death Used in Sur 337
5.2.3.2. Gendered War 344
5.2.4. Funeral and Murder: The Necropolitical Dimension 350
5.2.4.1. Encountering with Corpse 352
5.2.4.1.1. Sur: Open-Air Morgue 354
5.2.4.1.2. Pouch: Modern Polynices 359
5.2.4.1.3. Spectacular Corpse as the Symbol of Sovereign 363
5.2.4.2. Necroresistance through Cemeteries and Memorials 365
6. CONCLUSION 369
6.1. Backdrops and Further Research Opportunities 370
6.2. Concluding Remarks 371
REFERENCES 377
APPENDICES 1-9 420
A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE. 436
B. ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU 437
C. KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU 438
D. CURRICULUM VITAE 439
E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET 444
F. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU 457

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 Aztec's birth and death deities. *420*
APPENDIX 2 Mapping the Thesis Process *421*
APPENDIX 3 Interviewee Profile List *422*
APPENDIX 4 Criteria for Research Participants as City-Dwellers *423*
APPENDIX 5 The Representatives of NGOs *423*
APPENDIX 6 Interview Questions *424*
APPENDIX 7 Interview Card *432*
APPENDIX 8 Code Relationality *431*
APPENDIX 9 The Case of Hakan Arslan *433*

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: "Turkey quake: a father's pain" 2
Figure 2 Passages by Dani Karavan 4
Figure 3: Literature Review Models 60
Figure 4 An Overview of Interview Groups 61
Figure 5: Rose's Diagram (2016) 64
Figure 6: Thematic Card 69
Figure 7: Urban Sociology from A Constructivist Understanding 83
Figure 8: Venn Diagram of the Intersection of Four Dimensions 128
Figure 9: Kiss, Gustav Klimt (1908) 188
Figure 10: Freedom Graffiti by Tammam Azzam (2013) 189
Figure 11: Images from E lı Dû Man/Left Behind by Zehra Doğan 223
Figure 12: Destruction Map of Turkey's Southeast 252
Figure 13: Destruction Map of Cizre 255
Figure 14: Diyarbakır/Sur 258
Figure 15: Map of Sur in Historical Context 259
Figure 16: Destruction of Built-Environment in Sur 260
Figure 17: Satellite Image of Sur on 10 May 2016 261
Figure 18: Satellite Image of Sur on 26 July 2016 262
Figure 19: View of Sur from the Airplane on 16 September 2019 263
Figure 20: Images taken from the Clip (Sat5 Production) 264
Figure 21: Code Browser 265
Figure 22: Code Map 266
Figure 23: Code Cloud 267
Figure 24: The Basements 272
Figure 25: Covered Niches in the House 275
Figure 26: A Fabric Roof in the Courtyard 277
Figure 27: From Nest to Weeds Covered Land 281
Figure 28: New Constructions in Sur 283
Figure 30: An Example of Küçe 285

Figure 30: Map of Street Structure 285
Figure 31: Haussmannization Process in the Easternmost of Sur 286
Figure 32: Satellite Images from 2015-2023 289
Figure 33: Gates of Sur 291
Figure 34: Police Barriers in Sur (Dağ Kapı) 292
Figure 35: Ditches and Barricades 299
Figure 36: Ditches and Barricades 297
Figure 37: New "Traditional Houses" 301
Figure 38: New "Traditional Houses" 302
Figure 39: An Image of Armored Vehicles 302
Figure 40: An Image of Armored Vehicle 302
Figure 41: Sur from the inner City (İç Kale) 303
Figure 42: Sur from the inner City (İç Kale) 304
Figure 43: Images of Concrete Blocks in Sur 306
Figure 44: Kurşunlu Mosque on Map 314
Figure 45: Albert Gabriel's Sur 312
Figure 46: Screenshots of the Scenes from the Clip by Sat5 Production 315
Figure 47: Demolition of the Interior of the Mosque 317
Figure 48: Kurşunlu Mosque in Re-Opening Ceremony 318
Figure 49: Kurşunlu Mosque in Re-Opening Ceremony 320
Figure 50: Armenian Catholic Church Before War 322
Figure 51: Armenian Catholic Church After War 325
Figure 52: Four-Legged Minaret 327
Figure 53: Traces of Heavy Weaponry on the Four-Legged Minaret 328
Figure 54: Turkish Flag on the Minaret 329
Figure 55: Traces of Bullets 338
Figure 56: A sexist graffiti in Sur 346
Figure 57: 'Hand Reaching for the Earth' Scene from Arsenal 355
Figure 58: 'Woman Throwing Seeds' Scene from Arsenal 355
Figure 59: 'Funeral' Scene from Weeping Meadow 356
Figure 60: 'Return to Village' Scene from Weeping Meadow 357
Figure 61: Bones in A Pouch 360

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

4GW Fourth Generation Warfare

AMER Association for Monitoring Equal Rights

CAQDAS Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software

CBD Central Business District

CCTV Close Circuit Television

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

CHE Council of Higher Education

COIN Counterinsurgency

CRC Criminal Record Check

CSJ Center For Spatial Justice

CSO Civil Society Organization

FA Forensic Architecture

FSLS Foundation for Society and Legal Studies

USARM Union of Southeastern Anatolia Region Municipalities

GNP Gross National Product

GPS Global Positioning System

HDART The Housing Development Administration of the Republic of Turkey

HRA Human Rights Association

HRFT Human Rights Foundation of Turkey

HSSEU Health and Social Service Employees Union

ICT Information and Communications Technology

IR International Relations

KWP Kurdistan Workers' Party

MA Mezopotamya Agency

MMA Migration Monitoring Association

MOOTW Military Operations Other Than War

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NIO National Intelligence Organization

NSC National Security Council

OED Oxford English Dictionary

OPEC Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PAR Participatory Action Research

QDAS Qualitative Data Analysis Software

SKSP Society of Kurdish Solidarity and Progress

TAF Turkish Armed Forces

TJMC Truth Justice Memory Center

TLA The Turkish Language Association

TMA Turkish Medical Association

UAV Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

UCAV Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicle

UCTEA The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects

USA United States of America

VPN Virtual Private Network

WWI World War I

WWII World War II

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Being chiefly human, cities can be killed.
(Roger Spiller, 2000)

The city [is] not just the site, but the very medium of warfare –a flexible, almost liquid medium that is forever contingent and flux.
(Eyal Weizman, 2005)

Today, wars are fought not in trenches and fields, but in living rooms, schools and supermarkets.
(Sultan Barakat, 1998)

On February 6, 2023, Turkey experienced two earthquakes of 7.8 M_w and 7.4 M_w, with the epicenter in Kahramanmaraş, which affected thirteen cities and reduced six others to rubble. This devastation, which resulted in the loss of nearly 50,000 lives and tens of thousands of injuries, also opened up issues such as urban planning, zoning regulations, the state's accountability, and its inadequacy and delay in providing relief efforts. The time in question was characterized by individuals desperately seeking assistance from under the debris, the visibly ruined condition of urban areas, the breakdown of essential systems, and the haunting image of lifeless and wounded limbs protruding from the wreckage. The examination of urban areas in ruins, resulting from neglect, lack of precautionary measures, and erroneous legislation, inherently suggests an interpretation of the city amongst its debris. The portrait of a deceased daughter held by her father among the debris (*figure-1*), together with the poignant presence of personal items symbolizing distinct lives, serves as a significant allusion to the intricate connection between urban environments and the aftermath of devastation.

The deaths of the six cities in which the devastation occurred need an alternative interpretation that deviates from the conventional urban analyses. The phenomenon of urban violence encompasses two distinct categories: cities ravaged by earthquakes,

Figure 1: "Turkey quake: a father's pain"
The photograph is taken by Adem Altan from AFP
Source: https://correspondent.afp.com/adem-altan
Access Date: 08/08/2023

catastrophes, inadequate urban design, and apathy on the one hand, and urban settlements subjected to targeted attacks with heavy weaponry on the other. The first scenario under consideration pertains to a mediated kind of destruction. The destruction of cities is attributed to the *indirect* influence exerted by state authorities, driven by economic and political motivations. This kind of urban violence is characterized by the presence of devastation, whether intentional or unintentional, which is distinct from the overt violence seen in warfare and the exercise of necropower. In this context, the seismic events that occurred on February 6 have brought attention to the connection between urban and rubble.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that attempts to conceive this particular kind of debris have not yielded a thorough elucidation of the matter of the intentional devastation of urban areas in times of warfare. This thesis will go into the explanation of the second category of urban violence, which is elucidated by the idea of urbicide. The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the spatial and temporal devastation of urban areas resulting from armed conflicts, using a necropolitical framework for analysis. This thesis entails a comprehensive examination of theoretical and methodological approaches aimed at facilitating the interpretation of spatial

devastation, memory loss, violence, and death, as well as the ruins of urban environments, by means of the idea of urbicide.

In Aztec mythology[2], *Quetzalcoatl* is revered as the deity associated with the concept of birth, whereas *Mictlantecuhtli* is venerated as the god symbolizing death. In numerous situations where they are portrayed in conjunction, the deity associated with mortality provides aid in the process of parturition facilitated by the deity associated with creation and birth. In other words, what is born is born to die. In accordance with Samuel Beckett's poignant expression, "[…] one day we were born, one day we shall die, the same day, the same second, is that not enough for you? They give birth astride of a grave, the light gleams an instant, then it's night once more" (1965, p. 89). In this sense, death and birth become both epistemologically and ontologically inseparable. In the subsequent pages, I shall delve into the dialectical relationship between life and death, employing the metaphor of the Anthropocene-induced demise of urban centers. This study draws upon existing scholarly literature on the subjects of urbicide, rhythmanalysis, necropolitics, and war. It specifically examines the process by which cities are delineated by their destruction, within the framework of the dialectical relationship between rubble and construction.

Passages, Homage to Walter Benjamin[3] is a mausoleum built by Israeli architect and artist Dani Karavan in front of a cemetery in Portbou, a cliffside cemetery in the Costa Brava region of Barcelona, Spain. *Passages* was dedicated to Walter Benjamin, who tried to escape persecution when the city was under Nazi occupation in 1940. Like the image of the two main deities, I quoted from the Aztecs above, the Karavan aims to bring Benjamin's life and death together (*figure-2*). The study will commence with an examination of Karavan's *Passages*, a work that elicits a complex array of emotions and alludes to the contemporary state of this historical cycle. The historical vortex is also evident in the spatial setting as demonstrated by Karavan. The starting point of the project is a rusty corten steel tunnel made of 87 very narrow steps descending from

---

[2] See Appendix-1: *Aztec's birth and death deities*.

[3] See the guided tour to *Passages* by Dani Karavan,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FsMKlPfv3AI
And also, see https://www.passatgescultura.org/english-1/visits-memorial-passages/
And also http://www.historia-viva.net/en/011en.html

the cliff to the sea. A glass barrier on the 70th step of this narrow and dark tunnel, which only one person can enter, creates a boundary for the experiencer in the tunnel. On this glass plate is the following text from Benjamin's work *On the Concept of History*: "It is more difficult to honor the memory of the anonymous than it is to honor the memory of the famous, the celebrated, not excluding poets and thinkers. The historical construction is dedicated to the memory of the anonymous." (Benjamin, 2003, p. 406). At the end of the tunnel, the experiencer encounters a vortex that represents Benjamin's tragic life story. After exiting the tunnel and climbing the rusty metal staircase on the way to the cemetery, one encounters an olive tree on the edge of the cliff. This monumental tree represents the desire to hold on to life, to resist and survive in the harsh and difficult climatic conditions here. At the third and final stop

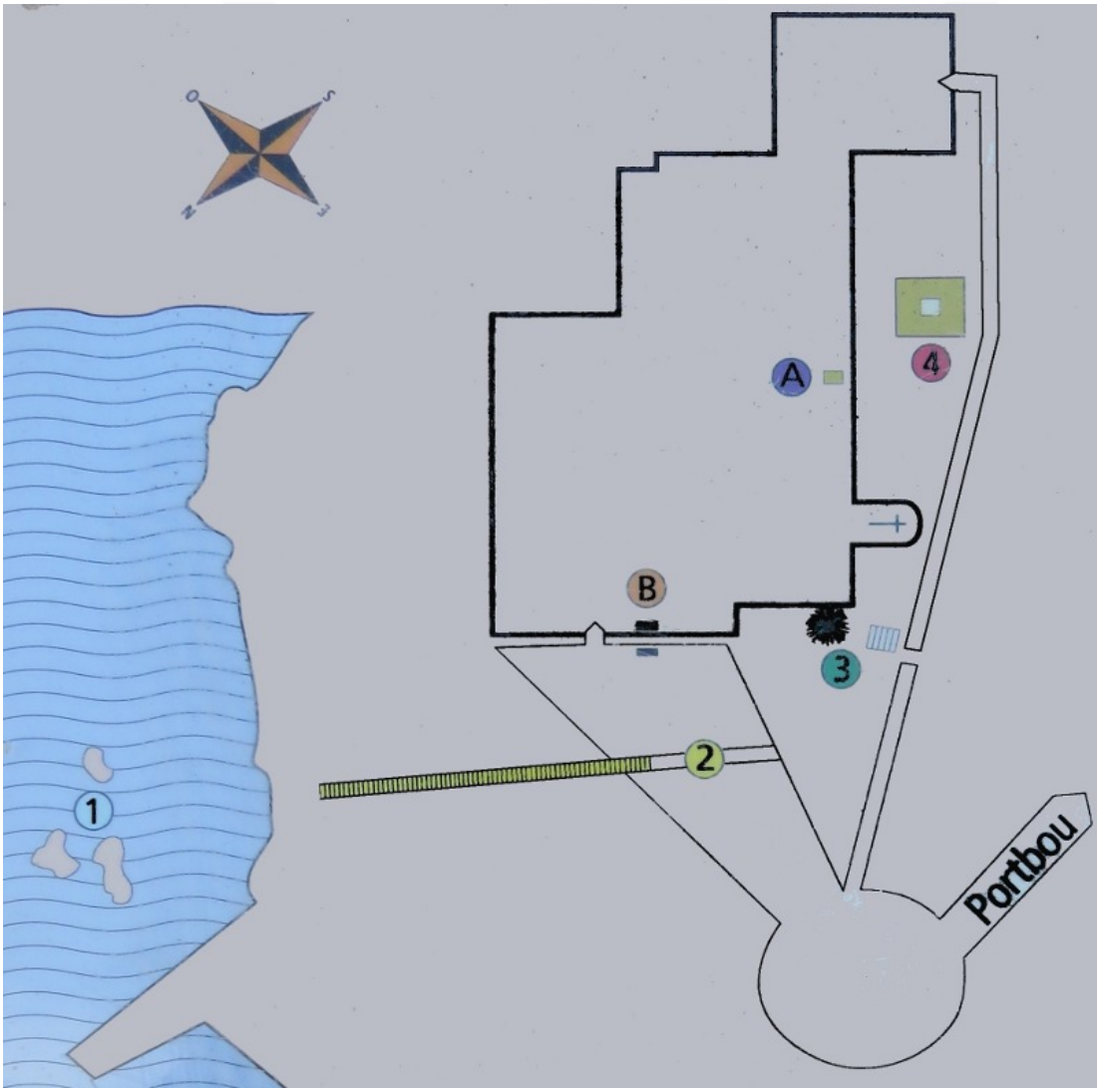


Figure 2 Passages by Dani Karavan
Details of the Memorial Site: 1 • Swirling water, Waves, Rocks | 2 • Corridor | 3 • Olive tree | 4 • Platform | A • Grave of Walter Benjamin, niche n°563 (1940-1945) | B • Plaques
Retrieved from: http://www.historia-viva.net/en/011en.html
Access Date: 08/08/2023

of the memorial, the experiencer reaches a rusty square platform[4] next to the cemetery and encounters a bank designed in the form of a cube in the center of the space. The journey ends with the moment of meeting Walter Benjamin's grave (Şengülalp, 2018, pp. 41-42). The historical remnants of previous eras, the lingering effects of conflict, and the lives that were lost in Portbou, a border town between Spain and France, become intertwined with the movements and existence of individuals who visit the monument-space. It settled at the foot of the Pyrenees Mountains, where people fled to freedom from totalitarian regimes during the Second World War. The place is remembered as a threshold from oppression to freedom, from darkness to light.

This memorial project achieves a profound integration of physical presence within the complex historical context by returning individuals to their original location while simultaneously recognizing the weight of the past and embracing a promising future. Monumentality is not simply a product of the physical space but rather the polyrhythmic whole that is woven into the moment, occupying a space-time that cannot be captured by cameras, plans, or cuts. According to Benjamin (2019), the present owes a significant debt to the past, and this 'present' is not just a passive moment but an active state that includes many individual wills and choices. Only in this momentary 'present' can the past or history that has passed away be recovered. The temporal rhythm of the monument occupies a poetic place and experiential space and is not bound by an end or finish line but rather an ongoing continuation.

Throughout the course of human history, the *terra* has served as a prominent battleground for several conflicts. Throughout the course of history, it has consistently been subjected to military conflicts due to its pivotal role in power dynamics encompassing social reproduction and governance. Consequently, these power dynamics have resulted in the devastation of settlements inhabited by the general populace, who were integral to this interconnectedness. According to Lewis Mumford, a renowned scholar whose notable work is The City in History (1961), the emergence of the city as a societal phenomenon coincided with the ascendancy of male domination over females during the transition from the Paleolithic Age to the Neolithic Age. The research conducted by Wimmer and Min, which examined 464 conflicts spanning the past three centuries, suggests that "war has been the most significant

[4] The fact that the platform is made of iron is considered a contribution to Benjamin's metaphor of *dust.*

generator of social change as it is warfare that has transformed the pre-modern world of empires, kingdoms, tribal confederacies and city-states into modern day nation-states" (as cited in Malešević, 2010a, p. 4). This observation is noteworthy considering the relatively recent conceptualization of war. The inquiry arises as to what insights may be gleaned from the cities of Sarajevo, Aleppo, Gaza, Jenin, Sadaa, Sanaa, Tripoli, Cizre, and Sur on the urban context and its processes of social reproduction in contemporary society.

Prior to delving into the subject matter, it is imperative to establish a contextual framework that addresses the fundamental inquiries surrounding the concepts of urban and the notion of a city. The etymology of the term *urban* is traced back to its Latin root *urbanus*, as documented by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). This root signifies attributes or occurrences that are specifically associated with a city or town (Coward, 2004, p. 165). The initial inquiries into urban phenomena commenced during the advent of industrialization, primarily via the contributions of Engels. However, scholarly investigations on this subject had to await the arrival of the twentieth century, when the *Chicago School* emerged as a significant catalyst for academic research in this field. The phenomenon of urban living started to get significant attention and underwent thorough examination within the emerging field of urban sociology, pioneered by notable scholars such as Robert Park, Louis Wirth, Roderick McKenzie, and Ernest Burgess, collectively known as the Chicago School. This theory represents the initial comprehensive attempt to elucidate the patterns of urban growth and urban culture, establishing a foundational understanding of the city. Informed by a Darwinian framework, the idea posits the urban environment as the locus of territorial encroachment and evolutionary progression.

Louis Wirth made a significant contribution to the field of urban sociology by introducing the concept of the *urban way of life*. This concept became a subject of debate in subsequent theoretical turns, such as the *Simmelian turn* in the 1960s. This turn emphasized the model of sociation as opposed to a purely structural understanding of society. Subsequently, the *Lefebvrian turn* emerges, including several disciplines such as geography, architecture, city planning, politics, and sociology. Within this theoretical framework, Lefebvre postulates a transition from city to urban society. According to Lefebvre's assertions in his publication titled The Urban Revolution, he posits that he claims that "society has been completely urbanized. This hypothesis

implies a definition: An urban society that results from a process of complete urbanization" (2003, p. 1). The word "urban society" refers to a distinct concept that differs from the more general term "city." It encompasses a range of practices, commonly referred to as "urban practices," that have evolved from the earliest stages of human civilization, when societies were mostly composed of gatherers, hunters, and fishers, to the present-day fully urbanized global community. The city, or more accurately, the political city, on the other hand, "accompanies or closely follows the establishment of organized social life, agriculture, and the village" (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 8).

Within the realm of scholarly discourse, it is worth noting that a certain parallel may be observed about the genesis and meaning of city. Harmanşah's scholarly publication, titled *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East* (2013), highlights the etymology of the term city in the Western context, tracing its origins to the Latin words *civitas* and *civilization.* In that sense, according to Harmanşah, "Speaking from a crosscultural point of view, then, urban life holds a symbolic image imbued with the ideals of economic prosperity, political stability, acculturation, and emerging social complexity" (2013, p. 5). This thesis seeks to comprehend the dismantling of the symbolic image that encompasses cultural and social interactions originating from the etymology of the term city.

Providing a comprehensive response to the question first presented will prove to be a complex undertaking. The ruination of the urban fabric is occurring in all of these regions, although the presence of distinct social dynamics and diverse consequences. It is evident that these instances of urban ruination are not unprecedented in the annals of urban history. The process of urban and infrastructural deterioration, spanning from Nippur to Gaza, can be seen as an integral aspect of historical development. The polis can be understood as an institutionalized manifestation of conflict that may be characterized as a sort of warfare. From an alternative perspective, according to Virilio, the conflict itself is "constitutive of the political form called the city" (as cited in Graham, 2004, p. 11). In this regard, it can be argued that there exists a causal relationship between war and the establishment of urban settlements. Abujidi asserts that cities have consistently held significance in the conduct and tactics of warfare among competing entities, owing to factors such as their geographical positioning, accumulation of resources and authority, and symbolic importance. This prominence

has been observed throughout history, encompassing fortified cities from ancient eras to contemporary urban metropolises (2014, p. 9).

Nevertheless, in contemporary times, this concept has acquired a novel connotation referred to as the urbanization of war, as articulated by Graham. According to Abujidi, pre-modern battles were characterized by their social nature, representing the existential side of combat rather than being just instrumental (2014, p. 12). During the medieval period in Europe, cities underwent a transformation whereby they were relieved of their responsibility as military organizers and defenders. However, their political and economic influence continued to strengthen and consolidate (Abujidi, 2014, p. 12). The fortified city of the medieval age, characterized by structures such as castles and fortresses, has vanished because to the escalating intricacy of weaponry and the potential for armed conflict (Abujidi, 2014, p. 12). The concept of capital has acquired an imperialistic connotation, rendering castles and fortresses obsolete in safeguarding the wealth that was traditionally symbolized by urban centers. In the context presented, it may be argued that warfare has undergone a process of urbanization inside a fully urbanized global setting.

According to Graham, we are currently observing the phenomenon of the "war's re-entering the city." The post-modern period has significantly contributed to the assertion of the all-encompassing power of monitoring and control systems facilitated by the rapid advancements in high technology. Even within the context of the Syrian civil war, certain technological devices such as drones and cameras play a substantial role. In the context of the post-modern era, the utilization of technology has become integral to both social interactions and the structure of urban environments. The concept of omnipotence results in a significant transformation in the dynamics between warfare and urban environments sometimes referred to as a "paradigmatic shift." In the contemporary period, the traditional dichotomies such as private-public, internal-external, economic-political, civil-military, and combatant-noncombatant, which Kaldor (2012) identified as significant differentiations of modernity, have lost their relevance.

The instances of Aleppo and Gaza exemplify situations where various structures, including infrastructure and private establishments such as residences and supermarkets, are both the intended targets and the origins of the threat (Graham, 2011,

p. xiii). According to Kaldor (2012), a significant majority of the victims in contemporary conflicts are non-combatants, with civilian casualties accounting for over 90% of the total. According to Kaldor, "over 90% of the casualties in the new wars are civilian. [...] The strategy is to gain political power through sowing fear and hatred, to create a climate of terror, to eliminate moderate voices, and to defeat tolerance" (2012, p. 159). Kaldor (2012) posits that the propagation of animosity and taught hatred is a result of deliberate instruction underpinned by a specific ideology. The aforementioned attributes of warfare have a profound influence on the urban, hence giving rise to a body of literature known as urbicide.

Firstly, it is necessary to analyze the underlying reasoning behind a contemporary nation-state's decision to fully deconstruct the infrastructure within a certain region, hence incurring substantial expenses. In alternative terms, the notion of causing damage to its own infrastructure within the context of a nation-state mentality may seem paradoxical, as the concept of a nation-state inherently suggests a state of cultural, social, linguistic, and territorial homogeneity. Nevertheless, this does not result in an inconsistency. According to Wendy Brown (2010), in her book entitled *The Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*,

> [f]irst, even as those across a wide political spectrum neoliberals, cosmopolitans, humanitarians, and left activists fantasize a world without borders (whether consequent to global entrepreneurship, global markets, global citizenship, or global governance), nation-states, rich and poor, exhibit a passion for wall building (p. 20).

Inside the confines of the nation-state, the construction of culture, language, social dynamics, and other related aspects occurs through the process of marginalizing individuals who do not conform to the dominant group. Consequently, inside these boundaries, identities are shaped both in terms of physical location and abstract understanding. According to Stavrides (2010), a frame is distinguished by the distinct separation between a *contained space* and an *outer space*. The elements outside the frame are not considered in the determination of the interior space (Stavrides, 2010, p. 30). What is the significance of a nation-state experiencing internal disintegration inside its territorial boundaries? Moreover, what is the significance of a nation-state engaging in a siege of a city that it has already established authority over, employing similar tactics as a conqueror would? What are the dynamics behind the necropolitical order that resulted in hundreds of deaths with any single solid building? For the first inquiry, Weizman addresses the visibility-related logic of the debris. In his words:

> The logic of visibility - to both see and be seen - dictated the overall mode of design. Visual domination was important not only in order to exercise domination, but to demonstrate the presence of the occupation's power. […] The sense of always being under the gaze was intended to make the colonized internalize the facts of their domination (2017, p. 81).

The act of causing destruction or generating disorder in a given space renders it more conspicuous and hence facilitates its regulation. The observed phenomenon might be characterized as a form of panoptic intervention inside the given locality, and the designation urbicide is frequently employed to delineate such deleterious conduct.

The concept of urbicide, as employed by Marshall Berman to elucidate the decline of the Bronx, carries with it a panoptic connotation. The concept was established by Bogdan Bogdanovitch with the intention of providing a framework for comprehending the devastation experienced by Sarajevo and other cities in the Balkan region. According to Graham (2002b, p. 645), the deliberate and organized demolition of specifically targeted urban areas for political and military objectives is a fundamental element of the concept of urbicide as employed in this context. Coward's own words made it clearer: "[...] such destruction comprises a distinct form of violence that can best be understood through the concept of urbicide. Urbicide, I will contend, refers to the destruction of buildings as a condition of possibility of being-with-others" (2009, p. 14). The pinnacle of antagonism during times of conflict is attained when the demise of the "other" and the devastation of "their" territory become widely accepted and customary. As Graham highlights, this phenomenon becomes apparent within the setting of warfare:

> As throughout the history of war, such struggles are fueled by dichotomized constructions of "us" and an "othered" them – the target . . . the enemy. . . the hated. "War . . . mobilizes the highly charged and dangerous dialectic of place attachment," writes Ken Hewitt. This involves ''the perceived antithesis of 'our' places or homeland and 'theirs,' an unbridled sentimentalizing of one's own while dehumanizing the enemy's people and land (2004, p. 8).

In these terms, war, or the destruction of the other means, in the words of Derek Gregory, "a conflict between a unitary and universal Civilization (epitomized by the United States) and multiple, swarming barbarisms that were its negation and nemesis" (2004, p. 8). In that sense, there is a close relationship between the concept of urbicide and the concept of e and memoricide, which make a distinction between "we" and "they." Urbicide sometimes includes *identicide* and *memoricide*, which aim to destroy

the relationship between individuals and the places with which they identify (Abujidi, 2014, p. 21). As Coward (2009) argues:

> For the political stakes of urbicide, it is a separation that is achieved in and through the territorialization of antagonism. For the conceptual stakes, it is the separation of human and material, individual and community, that underlies anthropocentrism. In both cases, this separation constitutes a disavowal and effacement of heterogeneity. Urbicide affects such a disavowal through the destruction of precisely that which is the condition of possibility of heterogeneity: *buildings* (p. 119).

Based on the aforementioned preliminary definitions pertaining to the phenomenon of urbicide and its interconnectedness with the notion of warfare, the central inquiry that this thesis seeks to address is as follows: What constitutes the essence of urbanity when examined within the context of its deliberate annihilation? To provide further clarification, it is important to note that urban sociology is grounded in an urban comprehension that is approached from a constructivist perspective. The topic of destruction is often debated in relation to many examples, such as the impact of war, historical periods of urban development, gentrification, revanchist cities, and displacement. However, the focus of this discussion is mostly centered on the concept of construction. In this thesis, the perspective is inverted to examine the standpoint of non-existence within the context of the *ontology of difference* in French philosophy. This philosophical framework explores the concept of existence in connection to non-existence or *nothingness*. During a conference, Lefebvre talks about the *space of catastrophe,* which is argued as such: "One should always, when studying space, specify its space of catastrophe, that is to say, *the limits where this space explodes*" (as cited in Stanek, 2011, p. 180; italics added). Thus, this study is an attempt to specify the *limits of the urban space and wonders what happens if it is transcended* through destruction.

While it is important to acknowledge the potential for oversimplification when likening urban destruction to a lifeless body and examining its causes and underlying dynamics like a forensic autopsy, this comparison effectively elucidates the central research inquiry of the thesis. The forensic autopsy, distinct from pathological and educational autopsies, involves the examination of a deceased individual as a forensic specimen. The legal framework that governs the living also encompasses deceased individuals in cases of suspected homicide, whereupon death assumes a forensic nature. When considering the urban environment, the destruction of the city might be

regarded as a forensic specimen. This situation gives rise to a scenario in which legal regulations are extended to encompass the debris. The deceased individual or urban area of interest undergoes scrutiny through certain protocols in the field of forensic investigation. The evisceration techniques employed in classical autopsy are predicated upon three distinct regions of the human body, namely the head, chest, and abdomen. The investigation produces a forensic procedure that encompasses both subjective and objective findings. The subjective section of the report focuses on the method of death and the diagnosis, while the objective section provides an analysis of the macroscopic and microscopic findings (Adams, 2009, p. 130). The aim of this study is to establish a consistent method for carrying out a forensic urban autopsy.

This study uses visual methodology in conjunction with *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) as a deconstructive approach to analyze urban destruction across four primary dimensions: space, time, war, and necropolitics. The objective component of the forensic autopsy technique encompasses field research findings, diverse reports, maps, and visual materials. The subjective component of the protocol includes the investigation of the dynamics of destruction, as well as the critical discourse around it. This includes talks on agency and the interpretative approach to determining if urban devastation is a deliberate and organized act of urbicide. The determination of whether the current investigation pertains to a forensic autopsy or an exhumation will be addressed in the last section of this study.

It is crucial to determine an appropriate site for obtaining information regarding these inquiries. Consequently, the Sur district in Diyarbakır, Turkey, has been chosen for this purpose. The choice to examine the aforementioned settlement for research purposes is predicated on several considerations, including the availability of linguistic resources, convenient accessibility, and a relatively constrained range of socio-spatial dynamics. The present thesis will commence by engaging in a comprehensive examination of the pertinent scholarly works and contextual factors. Subsequently, it will redirect its focus towards the period subsequent to the 2015 general elections, during which a breakdown in the ceasefire between the *Kurdistan Workers' Party* (KWP) and the *Turkish Armed Forces* (TAF) occurred.

The research process involves the formulation of sub-questions that serve as avenues for investigating and addressing the main thesis. These entities represent an outgrowth

of the primary inquiry into the novel approach to urban and the deliberate destruction of urban areas, known as urbicide. The initial inquiry pertains to the nature of the space under consideration. The present study aims to examine the concept of space by integrating empirical observations from fieldwork with scholarly literature on the subject. The analysis will primarily draw upon the writings of Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau, who have made significant contributions to the understanding of space. The conceptualizations that I have chosen to focus on are the *state of exception* as theorized by Giorgio Agamben, the notions of *trace and history* as explored by Walter Benjamin, and the concept of *rhythmanalysis* as developed by Henri Lefebvre. Furthermore, the section on war includes references to canonical texts pertaining to absolute violence. This endeavor aims to classify warfare as distinct from other manifestations of devastation and ruin. The inquiry into the nature of the power mechanism involved in urbicide, specifically the destruction of urban fabric, will be examined in the fourth layer.

The scholarly domains of Michel Foucault's *biopolitics*, derived from the Greek words *bios* (meaning life) and *politics*, and Achille Mbembe's *necropolitics*, formed by the combination of *necro* (meaning death) and *politics*, will be the subjects of investigation. In addition, the thesis will focus on the ways in which locals in such harsh environments manage to get by. Michel de Certeau's concepts of *tactic* and *strategy* will be the conceptual tools in order to understand these dealing strategies. This point of view is important because it gives the idea that the story is not written by the sovereign. There is always the signature of the *users* in de Certeauian sense.

Due to the sensitive nature of the subject matter, this thesis will specifically focus on the destruction and brutality inflicted upon the urban environment and the subsequent impact on collective memory stemming from the fighting in the region as a consequence of a necropolitical approach. The objective of this study is to provide a novel and all-encompassing definition of the urban phenomenon by examining its destruction from the perspective of urbicide. The study encompasses a multifaceted comprehension that encompasses various dimensions, including everyday life, the impact of warfare, spatial perception, collective memory, and the operation of necropower mechanisms.

1.1. Research Background

Biologists have prepared "red books" of extinct or endangered species; ecologists have their "green books" of threatened habitats. Perhaps we need our "black book" of the places of violence and places destroyed or nearly destroyed by human agencies.

Hewitt, 1983, p. 275

Despite its potential limitations in terms of reductionism, Kenneth Hewitt's proposal offers a valuable examination of urban destruction. Drawing on the concept of survival of the fittest from Darwinian theory, this approach proposes a categorization of cities based on their destruction rather than a developmental perspective. It views space and humans as distinct entities and posits that their interaction leads to the disappearance of certain urban models or textures as a result of human agency. This dialectical confrontation can be understood as a life-and-death struggle in a Hegelian sense, where the transformation or destruction of space by humans has reciprocal effects on the individuals inhabiting it. The scholarly discourse surrounding the phenomenon of urbicide is now in its nascent stages, lacking a cohesive and comprehensive framework of analysis. Discussing the existence of a comprehensive and cohesive body of literature on the subject of urbicide proves to be a challenging task, as there are limited instances of such scholarly endeavors. The scholarly analysis of urbicide saw a revival as a multidisciplinary area of study, notably in the aftermath of the events that occurred in the Balkans throughout the 1990s. Subsequently, upon its arrival in Palestine, the urban fabric undergoes a process of demolition orchestrated by Israeli forces during a tumultuous armed conflict. The utilization of this practice has recently commenced in the Middle East region, with Turkey making tentative and insufficient efforts that necessitate enhancement.

The first draft of this work commenced as an investigation of the Middle East region. In order to fill the gap in the existing literature about urban sociology and explore a territory that has been overlooked in the context of urban phenomena, the purpose of this draft was to comprehensively examine the region and its relationship to the concept of urbicide. However, there arose certain problems related to such possible research. One issue that arises is the lack of clarity surrounding the term "the Middle East." This phrase was initially coined by American naval historian Alfred Mahan in his article *The Persian Gulf and International Relations* (1902) "to describe the area

between Arabia and India from the military perspective of a time when European foreign policy defined much of the world" (Stevens, 2003, p. 3). Yet, despite this military perspective, the term has not gained a definitive description because of its political meaning and geographical one. According to Stevens in his book *Challenges to Peace in the Middle East*, the term the Middle East "describes, at the bare minimum, an uncertain but large area that includes countries from Egypt in the west to Turkey and Iran in the east. Some include countries south of Egypt such as the Sudan and Ethiopia, and most include countries west of Egypt such as Lybia, Algeria and Morocco" (2003, p. 4). For Wehrey et al., the region includes "the Arab League states plus Turkey, Iran and Israel" (2010, p. 1). Such uncertainty and ambiguity will have created problems related with the fieldwork and theoretical framework since with regard to the definition of the term the concept of urban and destruction and also extent of the ruination changes.

One further obstacle that arises is the issue of language. The Middle East region has been home to a diverse array of languages and dialects. The linguistic composition of the region is subject to variation based on the specific definition of the word and the geographical boundaries considered. It encompasses a range of languages, including Arabic, Kurdish, Turkish, Persian, Hindi, Azerbaijani, French, English, Urdu, and Yiddish, as well as several local languages and dialects. The presence of linguistic diversity poses methodological challenges for the researcher, who lacks proficiency in languages other than Turkish and English and possesses limited knowledge of Kurdish. This presents a hindrance to the execution of some planned research approaches and techniques.

The last and most loaded challenge is the social dynamics that affect the region. For this part, the first dynamic is the politics of oil which dominates the countries' economies in the region, such as Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia. Oil has been used as a political weapon which sometimes resulted in the enrichment and sometimes impoverishment in the countries of the region subject to the USA's foreign policies and also to the politics of OPEC (The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries) (Steven, 2003, p. 16). Secondly, Arab and Jewish nationalism has a dominating effect on the politics and also the urban morphology of the region. The war between Israel and Palestine has resulted in the ruination of certain parts of the region, like Jenin, Nablus, and the West Bank. The effect of the cold war is another

challenge in the section on social dynamics. It raised nationalism and radical substantialist organizations, which were promoted by the parties of the cold war like Al-Qaida, Hamas, ISIS, and others.

1.2. Theoretical Premises of the Research and Conceptual Tools

This work is an attempt to draw on scholarly literature on space, memory, war, and necropolitics in order to understand and explore the destruction of the city. But the main theoretical backcloth is composed of the literature on urbicide, which can be read as the violence against the city. Thus, this dissertation takes as its area of investigation research in the context of the ruination of the city, which gains meaning with the four main theoretical frameworks which we will deal with the theories of Lefebvre, de Certeau, Foucault, Agamben, Benjamin, and Mbembe.

Lefebvre argues that space has an experienced quality in contrast to its confinement to the quantitative sphere. The Cartesian understanding separates time, body, and space as discrete sets that do not intersect with each other and, in this sense, reduces them to homogeneous entities in themselves. Lefebvre, on the other hand, tries to understand space through three constitutive moments with his spatial triad approach: Perceived space (*l'espace perçu*), conceived space (*l'espace conçu*), and lived space (*l'espace vécu*). In that sense, the material forms, representational, institutional, and ideological orientations, and affective, symbolic, and fictive experiences of various socialities are all described by the concept of space. Space, in this sense, is neither an object of science alone, nor an architect's sketch, nor a monolithic experience. It is perceived, produced, destroyed, disrupted, and reconstructed through mediation. This performative understanding of space, achieved through mediation, also points to its transformative power. For this reason, "this triad, by referring to the multi-layered and polyphonic structure of spatial reality instead of contradictions, lays the groundwork for an inquiry into the possibilities of how the voices of the silenced can be heard"[5] [6]

---

[5] Original text: "Bu üçleme, karşıtlıklar yerine mekânsal gerçekliğin çok katmanlı ve çoksesli yapısına gönderme yaparak, sessiz kalanlarının sesinin nasıl çıkabileceğine dair bir imkan araştırmasının zeminini ortaya koymaktadır."

[6] The translations given in the original text in footnotes throughout the thesis are mine.

(Kardeş, 2022, p. 565). From this perspective, the city is a space of possibilities: "When it comes to the urban, the object of science is not given. In Lefebvre's terms, the past, the present, the possible are all together[7]" (Kardeş, 2022, p. 563). The destruction of space has a social characteristic, just like its production. There is *perceived destruction* (debris), *designed wreckage* (ruin), and *lived debris* (rubble). In the background of the thesis, Lefebvre's triad will be read through destruction.

The destruction caused by war also creates certain ruptures in the perception of time. The rhythmic understanding of absolute time, consisting of consecutive moments and homogenized units regulating the body, is insufficient to grasp the time experienced, particularly in wartime when violence is so intense. The theory of the relativity of time opens an important door in this sense, paving the way for the comprehension of different experiences of time. Lefebvre's theory of rhythmanalysis focuses on the urban form of such an understanding. With this understanding of space and time as becoming, Lefebvre mentions that there is a production of difference in the repetition or routine that occurs again and again. According to him, every becoming creates a symphony or polyphony (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 80). In some moments, however, arrhythmias occur. In the case of war, the experience of this intense state of violence creates such arrhythmias. These temporal breaks can be understood through the syncopes created in the quotidian through the convergence of entropy to disorder. War, with today's technology, is read as the realization of dehumanization through military means with minimum responsibility. Including sociologist C.W. Mills' account of the third world war in our discussion would undoubtedly enhance the conversation. Mills accurately predicted that war would become a mechanized and emotionless practice, driven by a business-like mentality focused on efficiency and impersonality. He states that

> Once upon a time--perhaps even as late as World War II- "war or peace" was a reasonable choice. The cost of a war could be balanced against its possible results. The total war of absolute weapons has ended the reasonableness of this choice. The question of strategic targets is now obsolete: World regions are the targets. The distinction between military and civilian is obsolete: World populations are the bemused combatants. The distinction between attack and defense is obsolete: The only defense is total attack, and "Civil Defense" 'even as war propaganda- is properly regarded as a farce. The distinction between strategic and tactical weapons is now

[7] Original text: "Kent söz konusu olduğunda, bilimin nesnesi verili değildir. Lefebvre'nin deyimiyle geçmiş, şimdi, mümkün olan hepsi bir aradadır."

> obsolete: Its continued use is based on ignorance of the dialectic of men at war and of the absolute meaning of the new weaponry. All purely military strategy must now reasonable be expected to end in mutual annihilation. (1958, pp. 2-3)

It is noteworthy to mention that Mills' proposition finds its embodiment in the form of drones. The current state of unmanned aerial vehicles, the act of killing subcontracted to a computer or a machine, brings violence to an unlimited dimension like never before. Such an advanced level of technology and the proliferation of reproduction spaces change the nature of war and bring it to an unlimited dimension. Rather than taming it, rational reason unpredictably expands the scope of its violence. War has become more directionless than ever before, especially with the existence of artificial intelligence devices in which military technology minimizes human responsibility. Within the scope of this thesis, this directionless and unlimited violence aspect of war will be discussed.

The term urbicide is the collocation of the Latin words *urbs,* which means city, and the *caedere* which is the equivalent of cut and kill. Urbicide is mainly developed by Western scholars, especially by the architects, for the Balkan case in the 1990s. What Abujidi calls the description of the "bombing and mass destruction of cities such as Mostar Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Jenin Camp and Nablus in Palestine, the destruction of Fallujah in Iraq, the devastation of the southern Lebanese villages" (2014, p. 16).

There are other phrases, some with the epithet of -*cides*, describing destruction and mass killing. Some parts of the approaches to the issue are through the type and nature of the destruction, like *cultural cleansing* and *cultural genocide*. The others focus on the consequences and effects of destruction and killing. The phrases like *collateral damage*, on the other hand, pay attention to the logic and the motives behind the destruction, and like *place annihilation,* some question the civil ecology and urban environment of the matter. All these terms and phrases are not irrelevant to our subject of analysis. Depending on the perspective of the researcher and also the readers, all these definitions gain meaning in the context of the analysis. However, this paper responds specifically to the question of the destruction of space, mainly the urban fabric and its consequences on social relations. Plus, there will be a particular focus on the destruction of the collective memory with a direct attack on the monuments and other symbols of collectivity. It attempts to understand what the urban is with all its social and collective practices after the destruction.

After Urbicide, we move on to the concept of collective memory, one of the conceptual tools of the thesis. Pierre Nora (1996; 2006) argues that the relationship of its keepers to the present makes memory a symbol of the present rather than the past. Like tombstones erected by the living in honor of the deceased, remembrance transforms the past into the present. The pioneers of the field, such as Maurice Halbwachs ([1950]1980), Paul Connerton (1989), and Pierre Nora (1997), were essential in framing memory as a collective rather than an individual experience. The mainstream psychology discipline's concepts of cognitive memory were disputed by Halbwachs, who instead contended that cultural differences contribute to the social construction of memory. Investigating the connection between memory and space was a pivotal step that led the conversation to the notion of the monument. Memory, according to Connerton, another key figure who investigates the relationship between topos and memory, is art connected to a spatial system" (Connerton, 1989). He mostly brings up memory and the idea of "spatial memory" while discussing the structural amnesia that characterizes contemporary society (Connerton, 1989; 2009). To the same end as Connerton and Lefebvre, Pierre Nora emphasizes the phenomena of history as a conception of the past. His concept of "*lieu de mémoire"* (*places of memory*) is widely recognized as one of his most important contributions to the field. Nora argues that memory is bound to place, and the heritage industry and archaeological exhibitions reflect a sterile, packaged past, similar to Critical Theory's *culture industry*.

The foundation of Achille Mbembe's necropolitics theory is the idea of biopower, which Foucault defines as the control over the life and death of bodies. According to Mbembe, the primary attribute of power, which he refers to as necropolitics or necropower, is the capacity to determine life and death. Mbembe defined necropolitics as the subjection of life to death. The fundamental power to select who shall live or die defines the essential limits and characteristics of the sovereign.

1.3. Significance of the Research and Contribution

The dominant faction invariably constructs the historical narrative of warfare and struggle from its own perspective. In Spivak's post-colonial theory (2010), the subaltern, who is predominantly examined by white male Western academics, is rendered voiceless within the confines of scientific and academic discourse. There

exist two factors contributing to this state of silence. One primary concern is that the data gathered from individuals lacks an experiential basis and relies solely on verbal accounts, leading to the formation of logo-centric and potentially biased assumptions. Furthermore, instead of granting individuals agency to express their own perspectives, these scholarly works subject people to a position that is characterized and delineated by the colonial authority. Consequently, adopting them as a subject of examination may lead to an incomplete and biased understanding of the matter. Spivak (2010) argues that the voice of the subaltern can indeed be reclaimed, although not within the framework of Western colonial thought. While the topic of colonialism is not the focus of our current debate, Spivak's analysis (2010) consistently presents a self-reflective problematization throughout the thesis. This study aims to address the aforementioned issue by adopting a participatory research perspective and endeavoring to gain a different perspective.

The body of scholarly work pertaining to urbicide in the Western world is extensive and continuously evolving, with significant implications for the study of Yugoslavia and afterwards Palestine. The analysis of the damage and destruction of the Second World War mostly centers on the systematic mass executions, rather than the consequences for urban environments, as distinguished from the concept of urbicide. The act of destruction was perceived as an ancillary consequence resulting from the conflict, rather than a deliberate undertaking by the involved parties. The historical trajectory of literature in this context is limited to the 1990s. Despite the enduring scholarly attention devoted to the literature on urbicide, there remains a notable absence of a comprehensive study of the notion that would facilitate the identification of specific instances of urban damage or city killing as instances of urbicide. This study makes two significant contributions to the existing body of literature. Firstly, it provides a comprehensive and organized understanding of the concept of urbicide. Secondly, it examines the case of Turkey, which represents a novel and unexplored area within the existing literature.

The primary objective of this study was to provide a valuable contribution to the field of urban sociology by introducing a novel perspective for comprehending the concept of urban. Urban sociology, with its roots in the Chicago School and its journey as a discipline in its own right, has tried to understand the urban through/with its construction. Aggreging on the effects of war and organized violence in the

construction period (sometimes it is taken as the constitutive factor in the construction), the object of analysis is the after the period, i.e., not the ruins but the built environment. The phenomenon under discussion delineates either the conglomeration of social relations entailing specific urban characteristics or the physical landscape catering to the requisites of production, circulation, exchange, and consumption. However, the approach which is held by this study will bring a new understanding to the comprehension of the concept of urban. It reverses the question and starts to think about the urban through its non-existence/ruins. With reference to the *philosophy of nothingness*, which sutures from nonexistence to existence, the urbicide in this work is defined in terms of the *difference* between the non-existence of the urban (fabric) or the ruination of the urban and the urban itself. This work makes a theoretical contribution by reintroducing the literature on space, memory, war, and necropolitics. This section of the thesis will be an introductory note on these four main fields.

This research study provides a significant contribution to the current body of literature by examining ethical, theoretical, and sociological dimensions. These strategies facilitate the visual representation of data and the object of study. The visualization of data transcends its mere representation as visual data, giving rise to an alternative kind of reality. The photographic representation of a dilapidated monument carries a distinct significance compared to its spoken or written description. This methodology for analyzing the data will provide us with a comprehensive comprehension of the underlying reality.

1.4. Thesis Plan

This study investigates the concept of urban after the destruction of the urban fabric due to the war. It starts with wondering what we could learn about the urban by looking at the ruins of a city; what can be said about the existence while handling the issue of inexistent referent? These questions procreate new ones, which are also in the area of interest of this study. The ruination process during times of war creates extreme conditions for the dwellers. Suppose the concept of urban also contains the people/population/citizens/dwellers. In that case, asking how people survive and

develop tactics and strategies in their daily activities in such extreme conditions is reasonable. In order to enwiden the problematique, this thesis is divided into nine chapters; each chapter is an effort to at least look for the ways of understanding and examining the research question aforementioned in a proper and scientific way, even if they cannot answer the research questions in all its parts.

The first chapter of the thesis is allocated to the presentation of the research questions and research problems with the subheadings on the background of the research, theoretical premises, and contribution of the research to scientific production. It is the part where the very idea of the study is discussed in relation to ontological and epistemological positioning.

The second chapter deals with the research design, which is mainly in tandem with the research method and methodology. It is organized into six parts, whose task is to discuss the researcher's position in the conflict zones, examine the terminology and literature in Turkey, and discuss data collection methods and analysis procedures.

Chapter 3 is actually the tenor of the thesis. It starts with the mainstreams in urban sociology with a special emphasis on war and destruction cases. Following an initial introduction to urban sociology and its relevance to the question of war, this chapter utilizes the philosophical context of the urbicide in an effort to comprehend the spatiality of the ruin.

Chapter 4 opens up the discussion on a new approach to the issue of urbicide by defining it with respect to four dimensions: space, memory, war, and necropolitics. In the next part, I argue essentially the matter of time, also conceptualized in this study as memory. I have chosen to focus on the following conceptualizations: the *state of exception* (Giorgio Agamben), *trace and history* (Walter Benjamin), and, lastly, *rhythmanalysis* (Henri Lefebvre). The section on war draws on the works of the classics. It is a try to define war with the aim of differentiating it from other destructions and ruinations. The last subheading discusses the theory of Achille Mbembe, who elaborates on the biopolitics of Foucault. Referring to the *precarious life* of Judith Butler, this chapter examines the power relations in relation to the issue of urbicide.

The fifth chapter systematically analyzes the data collected from the fieldwork. The section handles the organization, interpretation, integration, and exploration of the data processes. The chapter is composed of fourth parts, which are described here tentatively. For the present organization, each section of the chapter is germane to the literature the study deals with, such as space, memory, war, and necropolitics.

The last chapter is allocated to the thesis research summary and the concluding remarks on the research problems.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design part of the thesis really gave me the opportunity to justify the choices I made during the investigation. In this way, the research design discloses the choices made in the thesis and their logic. In this context, a crucial point to note is the usage of the term *design*. It seeks to make clear the rationale behind the intended technological, moral, theoretical, and practical choices made in order to respond to a research question. In that sense, a more technically oriented research area will be presented in this section of the thesis. The chapter will focus on the techniques and procedures used to establish the relationship between the researcher and reality, as well as the methodology behind it.

2.1. Qualitative Decisions and Parrhesia

The research design of the study is based on qualitative research grounded on non-quantitative data collection methods ranging from "textual materials such as interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and documents, and/or visual materials such as artifacts, photographs, video recordings, and Internet sites, that document human experiences about others and/or one's self in social action and reflexive states" (Saldaña, 2011, pp. 3-4). Qualitative Research methodology has wide-ranging genres and traditions varying with respect to structure, purpose, political positioning, format, and level of reflexivity. This study latches on to the combination of multiple research approaches, namely, *phenomenology, content analysis, action research (militant research,) critical research*, and *critical discourse analysis*. The first is the phenomenological approach which can be identified as "the study of the nature and meaning of things -a phenomenon's essence and essentials that determine what it is […] focus[ing] on concepts, events, or the lived experiences of humans" (Saldaña, 2011, pp. 7-8). By

concentrating on capturing the essence of the meanings and experiences, this method is employed when the objective is to get a close awareness and knowledge of how individuals perceive things. The other primary methodological technique employed in this study, besides the phenomenological approach, is content analysis. The qualitative content analysis seeks to uncover manifest and latent meanings in the text depending on the context rather than a rash quantification (Drisko & Maschi, 2016; Krippendorff, 2004; Saldaña, 2011).

The other research approach is action research, which will be covered in more detail in the pages that follow in this chapter. According to this approach, critical analysis is done on the participants' social surroundings and daily life. The stated goal of action research is not merely to observe social life but to reflect on participants' or researchers' behavior or work together with participants to improve their environment and circumstances (Saldaña, 2011, p. 18). In that sense, action research is a social practice in and of itself. A fresh understanding of interactions between researchers and those being investigated, or, to put it another way, redefining the link between theory and practice and between "theorists" and "practitioners," is one area where action research methods generally coincide (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 4). Critical research, as described by Cannella and Perez' *critical bricolage,* is having knowledge "necessary to recognize contemporary and contextual ideologies, cultural practices, and dominant political agendas that surround the situation to be researched" (Cannella & Perez, 2009, p. 172). Thus, the critical researcher is a critical bricoleur in Cannella and Perez's work, "a hybrid body that is researcher, cultural worker, investigative journalist, and activist/communicator for the public good" (2009, p. 172).

Similarly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has an activist fabric, focusing on discourse with a particular emphasis on the social worker's role. According to Van Dijk, CDA is a form of analytical research focusing on how text and language in the social and political environment act out, perpetuate, and oppose the effects of power, domination, and inequality (2001, p. 352). The analysts take an explicit stance with this dissident research to investigate, expose, and ultimately struggle for social equality.

It will be apparent that the methodologies employed above and procedures for qualitative research design are different from those used in traditional research ways

regarding how the four components—researcher, research object, society, and power relations—interact with one another. In this manner, there is a shared rationale for these approaches and strategies. Since this study focuses on the destruction of the urban fabric, the link between the four components of the above-mentioned research and the grounding of this link is important. The link between the thesis and destruction is also ontological, even though it has an epistemological undertone. The meaning adopted here is more anchored in a Foucauldian sense, even though I accept that the term technique fairly has a highly positivist tenor. In fact, the language employed to describe the relationship developed with the research object inevitably takes on a positivist sub-meaning, blurring the semantic boundary between the researcher and the research object. It will be evident that the study goes around from the viewpoint of a power relationship, particularly regarding the connection between the researcher and the research object. In epistemological terms, the dominant methodological models of research methods are based on realist and idealist foundations. The realist model differs from the idealist model in terms of the position of the researcher and the definition of reality. For a realist researcher, social reality exists independently of the knowing subject. The subject can only access this reality if and only if it is objectively free of its values. In this sense, it separates value and truth, subject and researcher in the act of knowing. Thus, a hierarchical relationship, the so-called objective, is established between the knowing subject and the known object. Cooke summarizes it as follows: "the knower must eliminate all bias and preconceptions, must not be emotionally involved in the knowing process, and must use value-free, neutral language" (Cooke, 1994, p. 48).

On the other hand, the idealist model sees social reality as entirely a product of the knowing subject. Reality is not a state that can be separated from the subject; we need to produce objective means to reach it. The researcher or the knowing subject can relate to reality without any objective grounding. The primary substratum of this model is described as follows: "Regardless of practices used to separate the knower from sources of bias, the knower always actively selects theories, methods, and interpretation" (Cooke, 1994, p. 48). These two models discussed here in very rough outlines are sort of combined by Foucault. In a methodological sense, what he did is summarized by Cooke as follows:

> Foucault has rendered both of these perspectives problematic by showing that the objective nature of the real and the independent, meaning giving nature of the subject are both built on particular, historical practices that are not power neutral. In other words, the very strategies used by the realist and the idealist models to make use of understanding without direction from another are in fact replete with effects that direct (1994, p. 48).

This critical understanding of Foucault was defined by himself as "fearless speech" or *parrhesia,* which is positioned against the official discourse's *truth weapons*. Parrhesia, a Greek word (*pan*: everything and *rhésis*: speaking) meaning 'truth telling' (Dyrberg, 2014) or 'freedom of speech' (Peerbolte, 2018), is an important concept for understanding Foucault's political ethics and also his methodic approach. In the lecture on "The Meaning of the Word Parrhesia," Foucault summarized the characteristics of the concept with five important relationships: frankness, truth, danger, criticism, and duty (Foucault, 2019).

According to a systematic social analysis, a social researcher should have these five interrelated attributes. Frankness, the first of these traits, refers to a method in which the researcher discloses all relevant information without distinguishing between other researchers and the research object. The second feature is based on how belief and reality interact. Although its pejorative image of inhibiting faith in God stems from its critical perspective, there is an unmistakable agreement between belief and reality. Foucault describes it as follows: "One uses *parrēsia*, of course, when he tells truth because he is certain that it *is* truth. But somebody is said to use *parrēsia*, and deserves to be considered as a *parrhesiast*, if and only if there is a risk, there is a danger for him in telling the truth" (2019, p. 42). This characteristic indicates the subjective position of the researcher and that there is a truth in this positioning. The relationship between danger and parrhesia is linked to its connection with truth. The relationship to truth entails risk, as we shall cover in more detail later in this chapter.

> when a philosopher addresses himself to a king, to a sovereign, to a tyrant, and tells him that tyranny is unable to make him happy because tyranny is not compatible with justice, in this case the philosopher says the truth, in this énoncé there is an exact coincidence between belief and truth, and, more than that, the philosopher takes a risk, because the tyrant may become angry, may punish him, may exile him, may kill him (Foucault, 2019, p. 42).

What is supposed to be done in this thesis is made evident if we substitute 'researcher' for 'philosopher' in this lengthy Foucault passage and 'tyrant' for 'political power' for 'firing' for 'killing.' "For in parrhesia, the danger always comes from the fact that the

said truth is capable of hurting or angering the interlocutor" (Foucault, 1986, 14). This already entails criticizing the interlocutor. This entails criticism from the weak to the strong or from the bottom up and goes beyond merely speaking up for what is true. Political morality enables the researcher to comprehend his/her motivation concerning the truth.

In that sense, being a key concept in the discussion of three axes in Foucault's theoretical positioning, this performative practice is, in a nutshell, "the courageous practice of speaking truth to power in an act of subjective affirmation and resistance" (Mcfalls & Pandolfi, 2018, p. 173). In other words, Foucault's political-ethical methodic approach is "the movement by which the subject gives himself the right to question truth on its effects of power and question power on its discourses of truth" (Foucault, 1997, p. 33). In that sense, it is not wrong to define it as anti-method.

> Truth itself is a ruse in the game of power/knowledge. By recognizing truth in this way, Foucault (1984:46) is able to raise his principle question: "*How can the growth of capabilities be disconnected from the intensification of power relations?*" Because of his attempt to explore the capabilities in social practices without resorting to the power effects of truth about those capabilities, Foucault's method has been called an *anti method* (Shiner 1982). As Keeley (1990) notes, Foucault is not interested in theorizing or in hypotheses. Instead, Foucault encourages a researcher to adopt an *attitude of contestability*, to *apply analytic devices*, and to *explore possibilities*[8] (Cooke, 1994, p. 56).

According to this methodical approach, to which I will remain faithful throughout this thesis, neither the researcher is a way of being that can be stripped of its values, nor is reality a mere idea. All this mode of relating is power relations. This reflexive understanding, which I will discuss in more detail in the section on the researcher's positioning in this chapter, is a maxim I follow ethically and technically throughout this thesis. From this point of view, this thesis aims to create a toolkit for those who study war, destruction, and their relationship with the city and to open a path in this field where there is not yet a clear path. As aforementioned, I will discuss the methodological work and focus on operationalizing the research questions. Concerning the model of the Foucauldian method, the chapter starts with the researcher's positionality. The chapter continues with a discussion on how to do research in such extreme conditions and such a realistic environment with reference to

[8] Italics are mine.

legal, psychological, security, ethical and academic challenges. An autobiographical story, which is one of the dynamics of the interaction with reality, will be the next topic I address. The research environment backstage will be presented to understand research conditions during the field study. After the interview questions are raised, the data collection methods and data analysis procedures will be brought forward.

2.2. Ways of Knowing and the Positionality of the Researcher

Knowledge production is realized through fieldwork conditions, the researcher's positioning, and the interrelationship of research experiences. In this section, I will discuss various ways of knowing and their political-ethical positions based on human rights and social justice. The political-ethical part will be the focus of the following section as it directly evokes the researcher's positioning. Here, I will discuss my identity as a researcher through an autobiographical narrative and its relevance to my research problematic. Thus, I will first focus on the participatory research approach as it illustrates the way knowledge production and the researcher's positioning are addressed in this thesis.

The political-ethical component of the researcher's perspective and approach to the research object is more prominent than in other disciplines when researching conflict, devastation, trauma, death, and loss. One of the reasons for this prominency even while the researcher no longer has any control over the legal, moral, and essential repercussions of the archives, recordings, or experiences s/he has made publicly accessible, her/his obligation still exists. The ethical and scientific issues surrounding archive and recording have drawn increased attention, especially since the 1990s with the introduction of the televisual age. Credible recording, tracking the victim's footprints, logjams for those who are not captured on film because of the camera's (or the language's) framing restrictions, and invisible zones—all of these put a heavy burden on the researcher because of how they relate to reality. In this way, documenting and tracking a war or destruction is a political activity in and of itself. Therefore, the information and records gathered may be utilized to create commons rather than only for future conflict and peace. In other words, these records can become not only a projective tool for the future, but also a tool for creating commons in the present and, in this sense, a socially transformative force. Here, the researcher's

political-ethical responsibility is to see that what is discovered is debated and that the records are carefully kept. One of the most crucial considerations in achieving this, which should not be disregarded, is to allow the record or archive to fulfill its societal function without fetishizing it. Failure to consider this possibility may result in a position of denial and reality distortion, which is particularly frequent in conflict research owing to the circumstances: An allegation that something is not real is supported by the fact that it is not documented. Clare Harris talks about the creative aspect of visual material: "The photographic *record* of that body therefore becomes a positive affirmation of an ongoing stream of presence rather than a memorial to absence" (2004, p. 144). This way, the agency is multiplied and dispersed through the record or archive. Regarding this agency, the Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach has something to say.

PAR is an umbrella term informed by key methodologies and theoretical frameworks. The first of these is critical theory, which focuses particularly on the construction of the subject, power relations, and the relationship between structure and agency. The subject's political construction argues that individuals' daily lives are shaped by social and political, economic conditions, even if not at the level of consciousness, and vice versa. In this case, two critical claims for PAR are supported. The first one draws attention to the power relations in the daily lives of the interviewees. The researcher is cautioned to consider those he or she researches within a web of power relations. This is especially important in research that is sensitive, dangerous, and where power relations are deepened. Secondly, the researcher must be aware of his or her own position. This methodological approach, which requires reflexive positioning, points to the position of the researcher as both a form of power and relation to exploitation.

Similarly, feminist theory methodologically feeds PAR by contributing to critical theory's discussion of subject construction. In particular, making the invisible visible contributes to PAR in terms of the political understanding of the everyday. Finally, critical education theorists conceptualize the merging of practice with theory through Paul Freire's concept of "conscientization" (*conscientização*.) His humanistic approach, affected by the postcolonial school, led him to work on both the oppressed and the oppressor's liberation. This dialectical approach is what Freire understood from *praxis*. Conscientization, in that sense, is the process of empowering subjects' "achieving a deepening awareness of the social realities which shape their lives and

discover their capacities to recreate them" (Darder et al., 2009, p. 14). This demonstrates how critical raising uncovers and produces a setting for the researcher to recreate and shape according to his or her potential conditions.

Critical theorists have advanced this strategy, whose historical context is described above, by reflexively addressing the dialectical cohabitation of theory and practice in the genuine meaning of the word. *Critical participatory action research* is a critical approach to the conventional ways of scientific steps like formulating a research question, arranging the research environment, and analysis of the data. Kemmis and McTaggart (2014) claim that critical participatory action research has two practical effects which distinguish it from the conventional ways of knowing. First, it is a self-reflexive way of approaching problems, which enables researchers as participants to consider feelings and emotions in our daily routine and work life. Second, it also takes into consideration the conditions which shape the episteme of the researchers as participants in the field. According to Kemmis and McTaggart,

> Interrogating our practices (with the help of others around us) involves interrogating both ourselves and the circumstances in which we find ourselves— looking 'inside' ourselves and 'outside' towards the conditions that shape how we think, what we do, and how we relate to others and the world (2014, p. 7).

This way of relating affects not only the research and its findings but also how the researcher is perceived by society and, thus, the researcher-society relationship. In that sense, the three axes of reality, knowledge, culture (society), and power relations, are guiding figures in such conditions since "recognizing the researcher's positionality as a social actor is necessary "to understand the links that exist between the development of scientific thought, the cultural context and the power structures of society" (Taylor et al., 2020, p. 12). "Native saying, 'Researchers are like mosquitoes; they suck your blood and leave'" (Cochran et al., 2008, p. 22). This proverb captures the reality of the researcher's positionality, which has a political basis. The research seems to have had little effect on the objects of the research. In other words, the researcher's hierarchical positioning leads to the research object's instrumentalization. In this case, the research object is abstracted from all value judgments and their consequences in the name of objectivity. This potentially troubling situation is even more ethically challenging in human rights-based research. In this sense, research committed to human rights and social justice principles has a dual vision "in which one eye could imagine the possibilities of an ideal world while the other more sober eye recognizes the stark

reality of oppressive conditions of marginalized individuals, groups, and communities (Maschi, 2016, p. 2).

It is vital to recognize that a researcher's personal history is often overlooked, despite being just as important as the research question itself. To Maschi's (2016) concept of *double/dual vision*, we suggest the addition of *inner vision* or *mirror vision*. This involves the researcher navigating between the ideal and the real world, while also critically examining their own position as a witness to this process. It is not a positivist undertaking, as the subject is constantly evolving and leaving behind an element of incompleteness and surplus. Therefore, what is omitted is just as significant as what is shared, and what is relinquished is equally as important as what is chosen. Schwartz-Shea and Yanow summarize this discussion eloquently:

> as field relationships develop and unfold, the types and degrees of access achieved position the researcher geographically in the field setting, which itself can shape access to other circumstances and groups; and this, in turn, can profoundly affect what the researcher sees or does not see, learns and does not learn. This process can take place as one is drawn more deeply into one network rather than another, opening some doors while simultaneously closing down other avenues (2012, p. 68).

I believe that the researcher's personal and professional background should receive greater attention in qualitative research, especially in which narration and meaning are the key components. The dominant academic practice in qualitative research is making the information regarding the participants visible as a way to contextualize the study. However, allocating space for the researcher's personal history has not been a common attitude in qualitative methodologies in the scientific community. The importance of the personal history of the researcher is discussed by Schwartz-Shea and Yanow as such:

> researchers' demographic characteristics and personal backgrounds may be critical to accessing research settings and/or actors. Sex, age, education, physical agility and (dis)ability, class, religion, race-ethnicity, language mastery and accent, birthplace, possessing a driver's license, and other elements in a growing list of intersectional factors comprising individual "identity" can all contribute to generating access to research situations—or to having it blocked (2012, p. 67).

Particularly in narrative studies, it is important to be more transparent when presenting the researchers' "overall world perspective" because it will invariably influence their work (Miyahara, 2015, p. xi). Taking Miyahara's advice into account, in the rest of this section, I will write about my own "conceptual framework of the world" in Frost's

conceptualization (Frost, 2011). This necessitates giving a description of my personal and professional experience as a Pomak woman, learner, academic scholar, and human rights activist.

Born in 1989, I am an atheist woman who was raised within a cultural milieu deeply rooted in Islamic principles and values, hailing from a Pomak[9] and Sunni-Muslim family lineage. My familial context is marked by modest backgrounds, with my father employed as a construction worker, my mother in domestic work, and a brother completing the immediate family unit. This narrative of migration and cultural transition takes root in the mid-1970s, when my parents, still in the formative years, undertook the significant relocation from Xanti, Greece, to Istanbul.

My educational journey unfolded within the urban landscape of İstanbul, spanning the years 2003 to 2007, a period during which minority issues assumed heightened prominence on the sociocultural agenda. This era is notably characterized by events such as the 2003 Istanbul bombings, which targeted sanctuaries of the Jewish community, specifically the Bet Israel Synagogue in Şişli and the Neve Shalom Synagogue in Karaköy. These traumatic incidents occupy a poignant place in my childhood memories, representing a backdrop against which an atmosphere of violence and the omnipresence of explosive devices became unsettlingly normalized. Amid this fraught milieu, my personal narrative takes shape, and my identity undergoes a complex formation process. Despite my earnest attempts to shield herself from the deleterious effects of such an environment, instances of hate speech and other manifestations of violence, particularly those directed at minority groups, intersect with a critical period in my journey of self-discovery. As such, these experiences and the broader socio-political context they emerged from bear a profound influence on the development of my identity.

Illustratively, on the inaugural school day following the tragic assassination of Hrank Dink[10], I found myself engaged in a process of attempting to fathom the multifaceted issues enveloping me, juxtaposed against the backdrop of my peers bedecked in white

---

[9] Pomak is a Slavish people living in Balkans.

[10] Hrant Dink was assassinated Armenian journalist and human right activist. A 17 years old Turkish nationalist, Ogün Samast, assassinated Dink on January 19, 2007, in the vicinity of the Agos office where he had been working. Murderer was wearing a white cap at the time of assassination.

caps and disseminating Turkish flags. My upbringing, entrenched within a family grappling with issues of belonging due to our Pomak[11] heritage, situated me in the crucible of a transformative period marked by fervent nationalism and a conspicuous resurgence of anti-otherism. Naturally, this transformative period wielded a durable influence over my subsequent perspectives on the intricate *Kurdish Question*.

Within the intricate sociocultural fabric of Turkey, where gender roles are demarcated with precision, the construct of a man's honor is intrinsically interwoven with the social practices of women, and a woman's capacity for public presence is largely contingent upon adopting a gender-agnostic identity, as delineated by Kandiyoti (2000), my journey toward attaining higher education and forging a career as a female academic was, unquestionably, not bereft of formidable challenges. In this regard, the contours of this path were marred by a panoply of disadvantages that have become, regrettably, normalized within the trajectory. These disadvantages have propelled me toward a trajectory of solidarity with the disenfranchised, oppressed, and marginalized, engendering the cultivation of an empathetic intellectual outlook.

I have cultivated an intersectional perspective encompassing an array of sociopolitical movements, including but not limited to the women's movement, the LGBTQI+ movement, human rights organizations, the Kurdish movement, labor movements, minority rights advocacy, environmental activism, and immigrant rights advocacy. While I did not necessarily adopt an activist identity within each of these movements, I conscientiously positioned myself at the intersection of these various struggles. In addition to actively participating in the traditional and established modes of action associated with social movements, I undertook a dedicated learning and research process with the primary aim of comprehending these multifaceted struggles and making substantive intellectual contributions. For instance, in my pursuit of research on the Kurdish movement, I took proactive steps to acquire a foundational understanding of the Kurdish language. My efforts to engage with this linguistic dimension commenced post-2010, during a period when institutionalized Kurdish language courses were still nascent. Consequently, my grasp of the language remained limited to rudimentary grammatical structures. However, as I began to formulate my

[11] I grew up in a family that could never feel like a welcome resident of either Greece or Turkey; in other words, it was a family that was perpetually caught in the middle yet never gave up trying to fit in.

research inquiries, I resolutely rekindled my commitment to linguistic proficiency. In preparation for fieldwork, I assimilated essential Kurdish phrases indispensable for daily communication with my Kurdish-speaking acquaintances. I paid particular attention to identifying Kurdish equivalents for concepts central to my research, such as war, death, destruction, daily life, loss, recording, and memory, and scrutinized their contextual usage within sentences. Recognizing Kurdish as the dominant native language in the geographic area of my research, I took measures to ensure that a Kurdish-speaking friend residing in Diyarbakır accompanied me during fieldwork, thus compensating for my language limitations and enhancing my engagement with the local community.

My foray into the realm of academia commenced during my undergraduate years, where I assumed the role of a student assistant. This period marked my participation in two pivotal research projects, each of which significantly contributed to my academic development. The first endeavor involved a field study dedicated to exploring the discrimination and challenges encountered by Alevis[12] within their professional spheres. In my capacity as a rapporteur, I gained invaluable insights into the field of minority studies, a perspective that substantially enriched my understanding. Furthermore, this research venture facilitated a technical refinement of my proficiency in conducting in-depth interviews. The second research project centered on gender issues, profoundly shaping my perspective on the examination of marginalized communities through a gender lens[13]. This exploration profoundly influenced my academic trajectory, solidifying my commitment to the study of oppression from a gendered standpoint.

For my master's thesis (Bekiroğlu, 2016), I delved into the intricate dynamics of daily life and resistance practices within the confines of F-type prisons, focusing on the narratives of political detainees. This rigorous investigation necessitated an immersion into the world of illegal leftist organizations in Turkey, entailing correspondence with

---

[12] Erdemir, A., Korkmaz, C., Karaçalı, H., Erdem, M, Weitzhofer, T and Beşpınar, F. U. 2010. *Alevi Bakış Açısıyla Türkiye'de Ayrımcılık.* Ankara: Alevi Kültür Dernekleri.

[13] Kalaycıoğlu, S., Çelik, K. and Beşpınar, F. U. 2010. "Gitmek mi Zor Kalmak mı?: Avrupa'ya Erkek Göçü ve Geride Kalan Kadının Gözünden Göç Deneyimi" in *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*. 27(1),123-146.

political detainees in F-type facilities and engagement with legal professionals defending their cases. This comprehensive research endeavor equipped me with critical skills, including data security measures, the conduct of research within potentially hazardous environments, and the orchestration and execution of interviews. Significantly, it imparted both ethical and methodological insights that continue to resonate in my scholarly pursuits.

In the final year of my master's program, I assumed the role of a research assistant. This appointment continued uninterrupted until 2022 when I experienced suspension by the university administration, a matter that I shall elucidate in forthcoming pages. During this tenure, I discharged responsibilities encompassing teaching and research across diverse courses, ranging from social movements to urban sociology. Notably, the interactions I forged, particularly with my students, evolved into a reciprocal exchange of knowledge, thereby fostering a culture of mutual learning—an aptitude I subsequently applied and further honed during my field studies.

My gender as a female researcher profoundly influenced the trajectory of my research endeavors, engendering multifaceted dynamics that warrant careful consideration. Firstly, it is noteworthy that my identity as a woman facilitated a heightened sense of affinity and immediacy in my interactions with female research participants. Women tended to establish a closer proximity, readily divulge their experiences, and establish rapport during our conversations. Within this context, women often found it natural to draw comparisons between the consequences of the war on themselves and their male counterparts. This conducive environment encouraged them to openly discuss the violence they had endured during the conflict and its aftermath and their individual struggles related to their femininity.

Conversely, being a woman presented certain challenges during interviews with male informants, particularly among those who had lived through the war era. Oftentimes, male respondents preferred to keep our interactions succinct or frequently suggested that I consult a female interlocutor for discussions pertaining to the subject matter. This gender-based reluctance to engage in substantive dialogue presented a notable disadvantage in such instances. Lastly, my gender identity imbued an intriguing proclivity for assistance in my interactions with experts and representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Male references, in particular, consistently

appraised the quality of my work favorably and played an instrumental role in fostering my network connections. This proclivity is attributed to the extensive engagement of many female specialists and NGO leaders I engaged with in the human rights movement over an extended period. These multifaceted gender dynamics, both advantageous and disadvantageous, have significantly shaped the contours of my research experiences and underscored the nuanced role that gender plays in the research process, particularly within the context of conflict and human rights studies.

My initial encounter with Diyarbakır occurred in the year 2010, against the backdrop of the Newroz[14] celebration—a period characterized by the emergence of iconic images intertwined with the complex tapestry of the Kurdish Question. Prior to this visit, my experiences had not extended to settlements situated within eastern or southeastern Anatolia. This inaugural visit served as a pivotal juncture in my engagement with the region. During my sojourn in 2010, I embarked on a series of explorations, which included a visit to the Dengbej[15] house, traversing the streets of Sur on both the Fatihpaşa and Melikahmet quarters, and a tour of the Ulu Mosque. These excursions were primarily undertaken for touristic purposes, affording me a preliminary exposure to the cultural and architectural milieu of the region. Notably, the streets of Sur, locally referred to as "küçeler" in Kurdish, left an indelible impression upon me. These narrow thoroughfares, akin to labyrinthine passages, were imbued with a palpable vibrancy, teeming with local denizens engaged in their daily routines. The architectural composition of courtyards within select residences, which I ventured into out of curiosity, and the presence of diminutive pools nestled amidst these courtyards, invoked a profound sense of fascination and contemplation.

My second visit to the Sur district transpired in 2019, and this expedition was predominantly driven by my ardent interest in a comprehensive exploration of its labyrinthine streets (*küçeler*). Notably, the residential dwellings that I had inadvertently encountered and graciously been invited into during my previous visit had, by this juncture, succumbed to demolition in the aftermath of the turbulent events

---

[14] Newroz, which means 'new day' in Persian, is a spring festival known and celebrated in Central Asia, but in Turkey it has become politicized and acquired a national identity, especially with the Kurdish uprisings (Aydın, 2005).

[15] Traditional Kurdish folk tales performed by local storytellers.

that transpired in the 2015 timeframe. Throughout the duration of my research, visiting residential properties, engaging in door-to-door interactions, and requesting permission to enter became a challenging endeavor, naturally resulting in feelings of unease and encountering a less-than-welcoming response, particularly inside the boundaries of Sur. It became evident that individuals harbored deep-seated reticence to engage in conversations about the conflict and the political landscape surrounding the incumbent administration. This reluctance was particularly pronounced when I lacked a reference or endorsement from a local contact. Concurrently, the streets of Sur bore witness to an unprecedented level of militarization, characterized by the conspicuous presence of military war machines and armored vehicles. Notably, mobile and makeshift police stations were strategically stationed at numerous pivotal junctures throughout the district, with armored police vehicles conspicuously populating even the ostensibly touristic areas. As a researcher, this prevailing atmosphere of militarization imbued a pervasive sense of vigilance, with constant considerations for data security, the well-being of both researcher and participants, and the preservation of research integrity. These sustained concerns, discussed further in the subsequent section, engendered notable social and psychological challenges, rendering the research endeavor a complex and multifaceted undertaking.

Before concluding this section, it is pertinent to elucidate four pivotal junctures[16] in my personal history that have functioned as profound turning points in shaping my worldview and research orientation. These transformative moments have contributed significantly to my understanding of activism, resistance, and the socio-political landscape. The first of these transformative moments was my involvement in the TEKEL resistance[17], which unfolded on Sakarya Street in Ankara. This resistance, which commenced during my undergraduate years, served as a seminal lesson in genuine street-level resistance and underscored the paramount importance of asserting control over public spaces in pursuing social justice. The second moment of significance was my active participation in the Gezi Resistance, a monumental and

---

[16] See Appendix-2: *Mapping the Thesis Process*.

[17] The workers' resistance that began on December 15, 2009 and ended on February 4, 2010, is often compared to the Paris Commune. It was a collective work stoppage and occupation in Sakarya Street, Ankara, launched by TEKEL workers in response to the privatization and shutdown of their factory and the planned changes in staffing and personal rights.

expansive uprising in Turkey. During the fervent summer protests of 2013, I engaged in demonstrations in Ankara. Witnessing the bloodstains of Ethem Sarsülük[18] at Kızılay Square, where he met a tragic end, marked my initial encounter with mortality within the context of protest. At this juncture, resistance and raising one's voice metamorphosed into social practices that I wholeheartedly embraced, cognizant of the inherent cost. The third moment etched into my personal history is the October 10 Massacre[19], a harrowing event where individuals gathered in Ankara to advocate for peace were brutally attacked by two suicide bombers. I survived this bloodbath through a fortuitous decision to relocate to another procession, thus experiencing firsthand the stark disjunction between the aspirations of a cause and the steep price exacted by such pursuits. The resultant fracture between intent and consequence left an indelible imprint on my consciousness. The final transformative moment of note is encapsulated within the period colloquially known as the "Cizre Basements[20]." During 2015, I, along with countless others, bore witness to the live televised accounts of the deaths of numerous individuals. This period precipitated a profound psychological rupture in my personal history, rendering it an epochal turning point.

---

[18] Gezi Resistance encompasses the nationwide protests launched in 2013 to prevent the rebuilding of Taksim Gezi Park in Istanbul by the current government without planning permission. Ethem Sarısülük is a protester who was shot and killed by the police in Ankara during the Gezi Resistance.

[19] On October 10, 2015, with the call of democratic mass organizations, a Labor, Democracy, and Peace rally was organized with the participation of many NGOs, CSOs, political parties, and citizens. Approximately 10 minutes after the demonstrators started their march, two suicide bombings were detonated on the same line, at a short distance from each other, on the street in front of the station. One hundred four people lost their lives in the massacre, which left hundreds injured and created a huge social trauma. (See: https://www.ihd.org.tr/10-ekim-2015-tarihinde-ankara-merkez-tren-gari-onunde-emek-demokrasi-ve-baris-mitingi-toplanma-yerinde-gerceklestirilen-katliam-insan-haklari-dernegi-on-gozlem-raporu/) Access date: 8 November 2022.

[20] In the district of Cizre, a southeastern province of Turkey, in Şırnak was one of the theatres of war after 2015 conflicts in the region. During the curfew in the province, military forces targeted urban structures, from public buildings to civil houses. The loss of human bodies in the district was the reason why this event started to be called the basements of the dead of Cizre. "After the curfew was lifted in the neighborhoods of Cudi and Sur in Cizre, 177 dead bodies, 25 of which belonged to children, were found in the wreckages and debris of mainly three buildings and the houses in their vicinity. While 103 of the deceased could be identified, 74 people were put to rest without being identified. The total number of dead has been announced as 189. According to the report of the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), almost all of the dead bodies were beyond recognition because they were either burned or decomposed. The remnants of human bones and military ammunition were found in the basements. Forensic Experts also found remnants of human bones of children in the basements" (BIA News Desk, 2020).

This section, delineating the contours of my researcher profile, aligns with the perspective advanced by Barkhuizen et al. (2014, p. 89), wherein it serves as a "well-crafted, subjective interpretation of facts." It endeavors to offer a glimpse into the underlying conceptual framework that informs my worldview and academic pursuits.

2.3. "Doing Research in Conflict Zones" and the Case of Turkey

Comparing doing research in conflict zones to research in more peaceful areas whose independent variable is not military violence reveals some fundamental distinctions. It would be useful to look at the ecology of the conflict zones before going on to the difficulties of doing research in a place where such violence has permeated daily life. Because these locations have distinct dynamics from others where the military and political forms of conflict and violence are not as pervasive in daily life, as many conflict experts have noted. Along with mental and political differences, these also encompass physical reflections. In order to discuss all this, it would be a good step first to define a conflict zone in order to set boundaries. It is common knowledge that war and peace are wide concepts with practically interchangeable definitions. For instance, considering the idea of war as an all-encompassing state would entail defining peace as the condition of not yet being at war. However, such a broadening of concepts may lead to ignoring the specificities of the conflict studies literature and the ethical and methodological debates on it. Due to the subject's significance, such investigations do not require a wide conceptualization. Jonathan Goodhand argues that "ongoing militarized violence, pervasive human rights abuses, and a culture of impunity" are the foundations for the description of a "conflict zone" (2000, p. 12). The use of conflict zone, which I will prefer in this study, refers to a field of research in which the parties to war/conflict actively confront each other or in which the phenomena of this conflict emerge through the almost complete militarization of everyday life. These phenomena can include the use of heavy weaponry and militarized tools of at least one of the conflicting parties, from tanks to the use of surveillance technologies. In particular, the regions where the rubble caused by war is not removed but integrated into quotidian life can be cited as examples of the physical phenomena mentioned above. Infrastructure and access to basic needs are further instances of how conflict manifests physically. First and foremost, a few prerequisites

must be met for a research project to succeed, including access to energy, water, a heating system, and the essential nutrients for living. It is discussed by Ford et al. as such:

> lack of infrastructure and human resources, as well as the presence of violence, can limit both access to populations over time and the ability to conduct research. As a consequence, conventional research methodologies when applied to conflict settings without due adaptation may compromise the quality of the eventual results (2009, pp. 1-2).

Secondly, these areas also have various mental implications due to the fact that they are places where death and destruction are normalized and where significant losses are experienced. For example, the mental stress that people are subjected to for all these reasons can lead to a heavy atmosphere of mourning and melancholy. Conducting research in such environments creates morally difficult situations for both the participants and the researcher. For instance, it might be extremely mentally taxing to ask a subject who has lost a loved one in combat whether or not to participate in a scientific study. In these contexts, researchers are sometimes likened to bloodsucking mosquitos. At this point, it is important to keep in mind the complexity of mental states and the different victimizations of remembering processes that vary according to the time, space, and social conditions of the individual. In her study from 2004, based on months of research in Rwanda, Fujii points out this complexity through the cases of women in the conflict zone.

> what these women's denials taught me was that informants do not experience violence in the same neat, analytic packages that we researchers use in our fieldwork. Rather, people experience, remember, and recount violence through the lens of their own victimization. […] Like rumors and inventions, denials can be informative, not just obfuscating. People deny some stories to focus on others (2010, p. 236).

Finally, such spaces have different political manifestations. In such an acrimonious climate, speaking out or staying silent might have political repercussions. Speaking out on one of the extremes of political polarization, for instance, can have negative effects ranging from social exclusion to murder. On the other hand, in some cases, similar reflexes may occur due to the possibility that remaining silent may be perceived as taking sides or turning a blind eye. Silence also marks the moral and methodical boundary between the interviewer and the participant. At this point, Fujii again comes to our aid and observes that this problem of boundaries is frequently ignored and that silence might have deeper connotations than are initially apparent. As she puts it:

> Silences can also be a collaborative effort between researcher and participant. As Warren (1998) points out, 'strategic ambiguities' always arise in narratives about war and violence. Often, such ambiguities are not invitations to probe more deeply, but rather subtle admonishments to the researcher to respect certain topics as 'off limits' (Fujii, 2010, p. 239).

Challenges of research in high levels of violent environments have various specialties among different cultures. Conducting research in environments where violence is so intense and widespread is one of the most important discussion topics for those conducting research in countries such as Turkey, which has deep-seated ethnic and religious problems. In the following pages, I will discuss the legal, psychological, security, ethical, and practical/methodological difficulties that come with researching conflict areas, with an emphasis on the Turkish context in particular.

2.3.1. Legal Challenges

Paperwork, such as permission from the ethics committee before going to the fieldwork and permission from the university for assignments, is also involved in these studies. However, in places where a high level of violent environment is dominant, it is also necessary to apply to institutions such as the governor's office and the police.

The language and terminology chosen to describe the region, people, parties, and figures conjure up a "war of discourse" that stands in the way of the arrangement of the order and style of this endeavor. It is because the wording compels us to take part in this "war" by pointing out "responsibility." Coming from the Latin verb *spondeo*, meaning being the guarantor for someone for something, is a juridical act that necessitates bearing the legal liability. In this sense, this is not only an ethical issue but a judicial one that lays the burden of legality on the researcher. In Turkey, this is interpreted by the legal authorities as a "crime against the state," which is the legal equivalence of terrorism. For this reason, in order to be within the legal borders, which is the prerequisite for acceptance of this research as a legally confirmed Ph.D. thesis, the wording of the order of the study is positioned inside the legal framework. However, it is important to mention the debates over the terms and definitions which narrate the history of the present war and conflicts.

Subsequently, documenting and recording a violation of rights creates legal challenges, especially in cases where the violence is extremely intense and constitutes

a criminal situation[21]. *Jus Ad Bellum*, which means the right to wage war in Latin, in International Law, it sets out the issues that must be consulted before going to war in order to determine the authorization to go to war, i.e., the criteria for a just war. In international armed conflicts, it is often difficult to determine which state is the violator as each party can claim to be the victim; this would create controversy and would lead to confusion and disagreement in the application of the law. Furthermore, in that sense, International Human Rights aim to protect victims of war and their fundamental rights, regardless of which side they belong to. *Jus in bello* should therefore be independent *jus ad bellum* or *jus contra bellum* (the law of the use of force or the law of the prevention of war).

A prominent issue regarding International Human Rights is the tendency for states in non-international armed conflicts to characterize any acts committed by non-state armed groups against them as 'terrorists.' The use of the term 'terrorist act' in the context of armed conflicts leads to confusion between the two separate bodies of law and can lead to a situation where non-State armed groups disregard International Human Rights norms due to the perception that they have no intention of abiding by the laws and customs of war. The designation of some non-State armed groups as "terrorist groups" can have significant consequences for humanitarian engagement and impede humanitarian action. Thus, this can lead to the demonization of groups that are conjecturally defined as terrorists by the state to the point where they are stripped of all human qualities. As a consequence, *homo-sacer* and their habitats, which are not valued as human beings, appear on the scene.

This situation fits perfectly with the problem in Turkey. The Kurdish Question's legal infrastructure is constituted by the ignorance of the constitutional processes that began with the Republican regime and the failure of the demands for recognition to find a place in civil politics. The constitutions and constitutional amendments adopted from

---

[21] Initiated in 1864 in the form of the first Geneva Convention, contemporary humanitarian law has diversified into concept-based and more detailed agreements with changes arising from advances in weapons technology and new types of conflict (Doğanışık, 2020, pp. 31-32). The most famous of these was the revised versions of the Geneva Convention and the revision of the Hague Convention. According to these conventions, to which Turkey is also obliged, only states can be parties to international treaties and thus to the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols. However, all parties to an armed conflict - states or non-state actors - are subject to international humanitarian law (Doğanışık, 2020, p. 33).

the establishment of the Republican regime to the present day have defined citizenship in terms of being Turkish and have not recognized any national language other than Turkish. The 1982 Constitution has been the most prominent among these in terms of ignoring. According to Parla, the 1982 Constitution, which restricted the rights and freedoms of individuals and communities too much, regulated the state-citizen relationship to a significant extent with a fascist corporatist understanding (2009, p. 7). This constitution, which is still in force, is used as an excuse for many violations of rights and violence today. The depth of the challenges encountered will be seen in light of the fact that this paper was produced in a legal context.

2.3.2. Psychological Challenges

The theoretical discussion of this section falls within the expertise of both Clinical Psychology and Social Psychology. But rather than engaging in a theoretical debate inside the confines of an area of specialty (which I lack the expertise to do and lack the authority to do anyway), my goal is to share some of my own experiences that may serve as a study topic for these fields of specialization. Sharing experiences, in my opinion, will be useful and realistic guidance for a study design. The consequences of traumatic remembrance on participants and the researcher will be discussed in this subsection. The difficulties of being an outsider in the field will be covered next.

There are two different axes of researching war and violence. The first one is the psychological issues that the subject faces after being brought back to awareness as a result of traumatic events and recollections. The topics discussed, and the interview questions may cause traumatic memories to be revived.

The ongoing process of mourning or melancholy puts the respondent at a disadvantage from the very beginning. Such situations can necessitate expert assistance. Throughout this study, many situations can serve as examples. For example, many people I interviewed, although I did not ask, stated that they have been in a treatment process supported by psychiatric medication since the post-2015 period. With the participant's consent, I ended three of the fieldwork interviews because the participant's emotional state had become quite intense. At the interviewee's request, two of them were stopped. Before discussing future assistance with my companion, I waited for the

participant to settle down. They were already receiving counseling, so I got in touch with the Turkish Medical Association's Diyarbakır section to ask for more help. These two respondents received extra counseling services.

The circumstance I encountered most frequently was the one I stated at the beginning of this section: silence. In most of the interviews and informal conversations, the interviewees preferred silence to describe the war period. The silence was used in many different ways, but in this study, it is most often used to describe the unspeakable. This is because there are no expressions that can describe the traumatic moment. In other words, the fact that language has limits. Add to this the power of the perpetrator to universalize its own reality, which it uses to the maximum, and for the victim, in addition to the limits of language, there is also the problem of lack of means.

Here, it was clear that it was impossible to overlap the victim's ineffable reality and the perpetrator's own reality and its discourse, language, verbiage, and confusion of concepts. Contrast the futility of trying to describe what happened with the ease of rejecting all claims with a single pen, and you will understand where the drama lies. As soon as what happened and its denial start to be seen as two 'sides,' the victim is condemned to remain a victim forever, a mere witness. The meaning of this silence is revealed by Agamben, who quotes the story of Zelman Lewental, who describes the experience of Auschwitz as unimaginable. Agamben states that:

> From a historical perspective, we know, for example, the most minute details of how the final phase of the extermination was executed, how the deportees were led to the gas chambers by a squad of their fellow inmates (the so-called *Sonderkommando*), who then saw to it that the corpses were dragged out and washed, that their hair and gold teeth were salvaged, and that their bodies, finally, were placed in the crematoria. We can enumerate and describe each of these events, but they remain singularly opaque when we truly seek to understand them. This discrepancy and unease has perhaps never been described more directly than by Zelman Lewental, a member of the *Sonderkommando* who entrusted his testimony to a few sheets of paper buried under crematorium III, which came to light seventeen years after the liberation of Auschwitz. "Just, as the events that took place there cannot be imagined by any human being," Lewental writes in Yiddish, "so is it unimaginable that anyone could exactly recount how our experiences took place. … we, the small group of obscure people who will not give historians much work to do" (1999a, p. 11-2).

In this kind of study, the researcher's experiences are connected to the second axis of psychological difficulties. The traumatic event is an indirect exposure for the researcher. Therefore, for the subject of this activity, the social researcher, the secondary, indirect experience of trauma might have repercussions that are quite

comparable to the primary trauma. This second experience is known as a *countertransference reaction* or *secondary traumatic stress* in clinical psychology. The definition of secondary traumatic stress is indirect exposure to trauma in professional interaction with the individual who has directly experienced the catastrophic event (Yıldırım et al., 2018). The professional groups where secondary trauma is most frequently experienced include social workers, health professionals, assistance workers, social researchers, and psychologists. There is a wealth of literature on these groups on this subject (Bride, 2007; Hamilton, 2008; Bride & Figley, 2012; Hiçdurmaz & İnci, 2015; Choi, 2017; Demir, 2020). As Bride and Figley assert that aid workers and professionals who are in contact with traumatized individuals may experience symptoms similar to those of primary trauma, such as avoidance of disturbing images, reminders, and clues, overstimulation, negative emotions, and impaired functioning (2012, p. 600).

During the course of this study, as a researcher, I experienced some of the psychological problems that Bride and Figley (2012) list among the symptoms of secondary trauma in their encyclopedia on trauma, some of which I have mentioned above. Between 2016, when I was introduced to the literature on urbicide, and 2019 when I conducted my fieldwork, some moments were quite challenging for me during the literature review and clarification of the research problem. The *Cizre basements*, which I have mentioned above, and the subsequent devastation in Turkey, in particular, reached a point where they significantly impacted my day-to-day activities. Being there for the *Ankara Massacre* on October 10 and the subsequent psychological collapse I went through were significant factors involved that impacted the effect of secondary trauma in my fieldwork in 2019 and led to me having really challenging times during interviews. For example, one of the three interviews I terminated was due to a panic attack I had after I was triggered. It is important to add here that I also experienced panic attacks and crying attacks after the interviews, especially in the guesthouses where I stayed during the fieldwork. I had a rough time back then since I would not accept help from a professional. Now, I think that psychological support is essential in this kind of work. I stored my audio recordings and photos by not deciphering the security locks for a year and a half after returning from the fieldwork, during which time I was unable to touch my interview notes (I hid them where I could not see them). As this depressive state lasted for a long time and affected my daily life

more and more, I started to seek psychological help. My ongoing treatment is progressing positively, and this has led to the text you are reading now.

As I have already covered, PAR contends that being an outsider might occasionally have a detrimental impact on forging a relationship of trust in research. In contrast to other research topics, the study's focus on serious and delicate problems like conflict, death, and devastation makes it particularly challenging to build a trusting connection. First off, individuals' self-control over the feeling of 'I am being watched and followed' has increased significantly as a result of the widespread usage of surveillance technology. Participants said they did not talk about their memories of the war and their views on it, even with their close relatives, because if the authority knew it, they could face severe penalties. These kinds of concerns and anxieties were one of the patterns that emerged in this study. In many cases, people refused to be audio-recorded in the first place. They turned off their phones and asked me to do the same. Only after they were assured of this did they start talking. However, what I must emphasize here is that I was an outsider to them and that they were sharing memories and thoughts that they did not share even with their relatives, which created a high level of uneasiness among the participants and related anxiety about the future at the end of the interview. Even though all the participants participated voluntarily, being the subject of such research, being consulted for your opinions on war and destruction and what you express to be heard can become a sense of insecurity. One interviewee in the field research who made the following statement serves as a solid example of this point:

> I want these pains to be heard. No one has heard us. Let the whole world hear what happened here. They killed us, they ruined us. I don't want them to get away with it. But they don't let us speak out. We are afraid to open our mouths, to say a word. They lock us up, kill us. But let it be heard. You write, let it be heard; these things have always happened. These things are real. These things have always happened; these things have happened[22].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Kulilk
>
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

[22] Original text: "Duyulsun istiyorum bu acılar. Bizi kimse duymadı. Duyulsun, tüm dünya duysun burda neler yaşandı. Bizi öldürmüşler, bizi mahvetmişler. Yanlarında kalmasın. Ama işte konuşunca da bırakmıyorlar. Korkuyoruz ağzımızı açalım, bir kelime edelim. İşte içeri atıyor, öldürüyor. Ama duysunlar. Sen yaz, duyulsun, bunlar hep yaşandı. Bunlar gerçektir. Bunlar hep oldu, bunlar yaşandı."

Second, as PAR once more emphasizes, the researcher's status as a foreigner result in epistemic exclusion and, at times, can even become intimidating. In other words, the participant may withhold, change, obscure, or distort information because you are "the other" from his/her perspective. The issue of epistemological otherness has even been interpreted by theorists of everyday life, such as James Scott and Michel de Certeau, as the practice of resistance of the subaltern. At the same time, when a participant asserts that they are the rightful owner of the material you are requesting, in some cases, this position may lead to a behavior of taking revenge and creating a scapegoat. Each of these problems actually presents significant challenges to any social science research. However, epistemic exclusion and intimidation practices play a significant role in delicate and emotionally charged fields like conflict and war. In this respect, none of these two practices presented a decisive challenge for me as a researcher because I performed all of my fieldwork interviews with participants through or in the presence of a reference. Despite my research's narrow and restricted scope, it shows the psychological cost that a small insinuation, a short-term exclusionary gesture, an accusatory discourse, or a harsh tone of voice may have on the researcher. Because I reinterpreted all the participant's words and actions when I took my observational notes after each interview, many moments that occurred in front of me made me feel as though I was carrying a heavy burden. This feeling was one of the things that affected me the most during the thesis writing phase.

2.3.3. Security Challenges

> *Travel to Eastern Turkey is likewise "red flagged" by official sources such as the U.S. State Department and Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, yet remains reasonably safe in the minds of academics, journalists, and tourists who have recently been there. Even in Turkey, a Turkish government official in Istanbul or Ankara will likely warn you against traveling east, while officials stationed in the eastern part of the country will assure you that conditions are pretty stable there. In my own case, I received a stern lecture from Turkish friends in Istanbul and the Canadian Consul in Ankara about how 'the Turkish army won't even let you go east, and if they do, the Kurdish guerrillas will kidnap you." I then traveled east, where the Turkish army gave me tea and sandwiches at their bases while explaining the situation there to me, and Kurdish*

people in the mountains gave me goats' milk and lectures about Kurdistan'

Romano, 2006, p. 439.

The reason for starting this section with such a long quote is that David Romano, a scholar conducting research in the conflict zone of the Middle East (he has worked in Iran, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Israel-Palestine, in addition to Turkey), visited Kurdish cities in Turkey at a time when the conflict had not yet begun in the urban settlements, but the warnings he received can be extrapolated to the present day. After 2015, there was a process of displacement in major cities, where millions of people reside, resulting in the migration of hundreds of thousands of people and several human tragedies, including civilian fatalities (Mandıracı, 2016). In this section, I will share the security challenges I encountered with worst-case scenarios and the solutions I developed to address them.

Because of the detention or some legal-practical difficulties that I might be exposed to during the fieldwork, I was briefed on cryptology before I left. My goal was to ensure data security as well as community and researcher security. Therefore, I learned methods to encrypt my data during the fieldwork securely. These methods are the encryption of the voice documents on macOS using Disk Utility and the formation of the encrypted PDF files that were collected from NGOs for emailing (Boettcher, 2021). Apart from that, I opened a mail account related to my thesis where I could store photos, field notes, interview records, etc. I made all my uploads to this account using a VPN after encrypting them. At the same time, I sent my data to two friends outside Diyarbakır who knew my thesis and were aware of the content of the study, again encrypted, through more reliable applications such as telegram, etc. Since the same friends also had my mail account, all my data was stored encrypted on two different computers. But of course, this was not enough to solve my security problem.

In addition, the people I interviewed felt uneasy. I experienced similar security concerns and worries in my other interviews because of the delays. Secondly, an arrest at the time of encryption could have led to the criminalization of the situation and marginalization of the issue. Third, although the data was encrypted, I would have had to make it more accessible for decipherment and analysis. As a researcher who has attracted enough attention in a conflict zone environment, making the data accessible

could have been dangerous outside the area where I was doing my fieldwork. This possibility, which is less likely to happen than in other situations, happened to me. My house was raided, and I was taken into custody at a time when I was in the analysis part of my thesis; therefore, my data was deciphered. All my digital material, including my computer, was confiscated, copied, and entered into police records. In addition to the loss of the anonymity of the data, the security problem of the people I interviewed, me as a researcher, and the institutions involved in my research came to light again. When I wanted to repeat my fieldwork, my assignment was not made, and I was prevented from leaving the city. Later, a criminal case was filed against me, and a ban on leaving the country was imposed. I was suspended from my university, where I was working as a research assistant. I was even prevented from entering the campus where I was doing my studies and where I spent most of my time for 15 years. Documents related to my master's thesis and my doctoral study were included in court file[23]. For almost two years, I dealt with all sorts of absurdities in my case file. The case, in which I was tried for membership of an armed terrorist organization, lasted 5 hearings in total. Fortunately, at the end of the process, I was acquitted in April 2023, but it was not until mid-July 2023 that the verdict became final, and I was reinstated. During this period, I had to deal with file follow-up and paperwork.

2.3.4. Ethical Challenges

> *Sayability itself remains unsaid in what is said and in that about which something is said. […] knowability itself is lost in what is known and in that about which something is known.*
>
> *Agamben, 1999b, p. 33*

Due to the security risks mentioned in the previous section, I was inviting the participant to be the subject of an event to which he or she is already an interlocutor. At this point, the three examples I will give are important in terms of showing how

[23] For example, the court asked METU (Middle East Technical University) for a copy of my master's thesis, other work related to the thesis, and the university's documentation of my Ph.D. thesis, including ethics committee approval and related appointments.

conflict areas pose ethical challenges for the researcher and the participant. The first example is that during my fieldwork, I gave USBs to two people, to share the visual material they had with me. Due to a large amount of visual material, these two people could not deliver the USBs to me while I was in Diyarbakır, and we agreed that they would send them by mail later. However, about three months after this agreement, these two people were detained and arrested for a week. Therefore, such a risky association creates a situation that may cause legal problems for both the participant and the researcher. Goodhan deliberately points out that "[c]onflict zone researchers have moral responsibilities for their interventions and may inadvertently do harm by infringing the security, privacy and well-being of the subjects of their research" (2000, pp. 12-3).

The second example is when I was detained, and all my digital material was confiscated, which compromised the anonymity of the data. This has been an unsettling issue for me to come to terms with for a long time. As of September 2021, the possibility that they may be subjected to any punishment for the interview recordings and what they trustingly shared with me within the research framework has been put before us as a problem. Although I am relieved to know that so far, none of the participants of the research has been harmed in a legal sense due to this study, it is obvious that researchers working on these issues have a very difficult time with the security of the participants and the anonymity of the data. The last example was when some important material from that period was handed to me with a non-disclosure clause. At this point, the researcher has an important decision to make: What to do with a file that has been entrusted to the researcher for later use and archiving? On the one hand, there is the possession of a file that will further strengthen our definition of the issue as war and reveal what happened in all its clarity, and on the other hand, there is the verbal agreement based on trust with the supplier not to use it. In this study, I am keeping my promise to the participant who trusted me and shared the document, and I am not using it.

Another fundamental ethical challenge is that research is a commodity within an 'information economy.' When we consider the ideological dimension of academia, which we will discuss in the next sub-section, the question of whom research serves becomes crucial. Who benefits from the research conducted? For whom is this research made accessible? In this 'information economy,' there are knowledge services or

knowledge production institutions that are controlled by nation-states or various capital groups. For example, the Council of Higher Education (CHE) database, of which this thesis will necessarily be a part, constitutes the equivalent of such an accumulation on a nation-state scale. Although this database is open to the public, its users are still people from academia and state employees. Yves Lacoste makes an important criticism of such situations and says the following:

> It should be noted that the monographs prepared by geographers, anthropologists, and sociologists on this or that people, ethnic group, tribe, region, neighborhood, slum, etc. of the Third World are of considerable use to the political and military intelligence services of the great powers, most notably the CIA and the Pentagon. This information, long stockpiled and methodically updated, will allow for effective and rapid intervention in this or that part of the world, should the need arise[24] (2014, p. 144).

This responsibility also manifests itself in the process of deciding whose voices should be heard and whose voices should be blocked or muted. As mentioned above, it is both the nature of the work to have to exclude certain things, situations, people, and groups (because research cannot encompass the whole truth and therefore has to exclude some things) and the circumstances that make some things visible while others are hidden from the surface. In this sense, every decision made by the researcher has political and ethical implications; hence the decisions themselves are political. In terms of the 'information economy,' Goodhan evaluates that: "Researchers are part of this 'information economy' and should realize that research necessarily involves making political and ethical choices about which voices are heard and whose knowledge counts" (2000, p. 12).

While the choices made naturally exclude some things on the one hand, on the other hand, the relationship between what is made visible with reality and the fact that it can be denied may create some ethical problems. This situation is particularly salient in qualitative research due to both the positioning of the researcher and the fact that the participant is treated as one of the subjects of the research rather than an object of

[24] Original text: "Coğrafyacıların, antropologların ve sosyologların üçüncü dünyanın şu veya bu halkına, filanca etnik gruba, aşirete, bölgeye, mahalleye, gecekondu bölgesine vsye yönelik olarak hazırladıkları monografilerin, en başta CIA ve Pentagon olmak üzere, büyük güçlerin siyasi ve askeri bilgi alma servislerine önemli bir fayda sağladıklarını dikkate almak gerekir. Uzun zamandır stoklanan ve metodik olarak güncellenen bu bilgiler, ihtiyaç olması halinde, dünyanın şu ya da bu noktasına etkili ve hızlı bir şekilde müdahale etmeye olanak sağlayacaktır."

research in the positivist sense. Especially when it comes to analyzing the interviews, the debate on credibility and reliability dominates the discussion. Portelli expresses this very clearly.

> Oral sources are credible but with a different credibility. The importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge. Therefore, there are no 'false' oral sources. […] 'wrong' statements are still psychologically 'true,' and […] this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts (1991, p. 51).

Of course, the task of the researcher is not to judge whether the participant is telling the truth or not. In a sense, research is a social relationship that creates its own truth. The interviewee conveys his/her own construction of reality through his/her own individual history, experiences and feelings. However, especially when violence is the main theme, we can say that these narratives are romanticized and turned into magazine material, and therefore they are faced with a dehistoricization. Bartov takes this discussion even further and argues that an important historical rupture such as the Holocaust is transformed into a 'malleable myth,' "detaching the [it] from human experience and morality by making it disappear into the mists of mythology, incomprehension and ineffability" (2000, p. 228).

The issue of responsibility and guilt poses an ethical dilemma for this study. This ethical challenge arises in the case of mass killings, where one is not the direct perpetrator of the violence but where the sense of responsibility, accompanied by shame, is always present. In cases of mass violence such as the Holocaust, Pogroms, and *Tertele*[25], where the person has a connection to the perpetrator (ethnic, religious, political, etc.), shame and responsibility create a meaningful ethical relationality, according to Agamben.

> The importance of shame in this context is its emphasis on relations rather than acts: I feel shame not because of what I have done, but rather because others matter to me, and because I care what they think of me. The capacity for shame attests to a remnant, however small, of interhuman relationality – an interest, however diminished or degraded, in others. This is why shame can function as a site of resistance, a feeling for justice even in the midst of radical injustice: because it confirms the root of responsibility in our relations with others. Even if it is physically impossible to make good on these responsibilities, and even if the ones who are actually guilty absolutely refuse to carry their burden of responsibility, the response

[25] Tertele is the local saying of Holocaust and chaotic situation in Dersim region in Turkey.

> of shame holds open the possibility that things could be otherwise, that there is still some trace of a meaningful ethical relation (Guenther, 2011, p. 6).

Lastly, from a totalizing standpoint, would not talking about war, devastation, death, and misery preclude resistance, revolt, and hope? In reality, Marion quite accurately stated the difficulty that post-Agamben genocide academics have been attempting to resolve: "The dilemma, then, is how to preserve the singularity and atrocity of the camps without understanding, that is, how to frame empirical facts without closure" (2006, p. 1021).

2.3.5. Academic Challenges

In a process in which my research areas were also made the subject of prosecution and investigation and added to the case file, my relationship with academia became very complicated and, at the same time, corrosive. Although the loss of rights I suffered in this process was observed with great interest by my students, unfortunately, this situation did not have a counterpart in the eyes of my colleagues. Without going into too much detail in this section, I will briefly talk about the academic situation that the prominent sociologist İsmail Beşikçi calls the *Silence Conspiration*[26] *[Sükût Suikastı]*. Beşikçi, a sociologist who was imprisoned for many years and expelled from his university due to his writings and academic studies on the Kurdish Question, describes the situation he experienced in academia as the Silence Conspiration. The Silence Conspiration corresponds to a situation in which the researcher is rendered invisible in the academy, and the violations of rights he/she suffers due to his/her academic work are kept silent. Beşikçi also complains about this conspiration against him: "I wonder if such a relationship can be established. If you are often noticed by institutions such as the police and prosecutors because of your thoughts and writings, the press and universities do not notice you" (2009, p. 175).[27]

---

[26] The aforementioned expression pertains to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's assertion that his voice did not extend beyond his immediate sphere of influence (Enginün and Kerman, 2020, p. 291).

[27] An anecdote of Beşikçi will be a dramatic example of this special kind of conspiration: "During these operations, libraries and professors' rooms were also searched. Some books and magazines were confiscated, saying, "We will examine them; we will see whether they are forbidden or not." During these days, I came across an unpleasant incident that caused me great disappointment. The professors' rooms were being searched one by one. Some professors were sitting in their rooms, and the assistants

Considering the nature of the academy, an exclusionary practice such as silence assassination is paradoxically both expected and contrary to its essence. The process of knowledge production in the academy has institutionalized its epistemological foundations and transformation within the university today since the tradition of academia as a community of free thought established by Plato in Ancient Greece and the more recent tradition of universitas. This production process can be considered within academia when it is completed by questioning the limits of knowledge in the Socratic sense and by a critical view of the existing. In such an environment of free thought, no one can be judged or punished for their studies, thoughts, and questions. However, this ideal academic environment is disrupted when one encounters the ideological side of what Tanıl Bora (2003) defines as the nature of the university. He explains this ideological side as follows:

> […] the university is also inherently an ideological apparatus... The university is an institution that is functional in the reproduction of the dominant ideology (in short, capitalism) in a broad and universal sense and the official ideology/regime ideology in a narrow sense... As an ideological apparatus, the university may come into conflict with the dominant or official ideologies or be the source of such conflicts due to its adoption of the university ideology as an ideology or due to other ideological motives. Or it can be this: The specific royalty problems (unequal development) between the universal/'cosmopolitan' dominant ideology and the regime/official ideology may be reflected in the university - with a special tension (2003, p. 4).

In this process that transforms the student into a customer and the academic into a marketing manager, it can be seen that the exclusionary practice called the assassination of silence actually develops "due to the nature of the work." Just as the expectation from the marketing manager is never to go beyond his/her job authorization and limits, academic production, which is almost reduced to a technician, cannot go beyond the field of thinking and working whose boundaries are drawn by

---

were in the corridor watching the soldiers participating in the operation. I was also watching... In early 1971, the book *The Order of Eastern Anatolia, Socio-Economic and Ethnic Basis* was in its second edition. I signed this book and gave it to some professors, assistants, and friends... The soldiers had entered one professor's room, and then they were going to enter the room next door. They entered the rooms in order and searched them. The professor, who surprised me with his/her behavior a little later, was waiting for his/her turn to come to his/her room. The door was left ajar. The professor was sitting behind the desk. It was at that moment, perhaps for a split second, that I locked eyes with the professor's behavior. The professor tore out the signed page from the book I had given him/her, *The Order of Eastern Anatolia*, tore it up, and threw it in the trash can. He/She hid the book somewhere under the table. I had unwillingly witnessed such an act. The professor did not realize that I had seen him/her. I never told anyone about this incident, which caused me great disappointment and bitterness" (2009, pp. 138-139).

power. If it does, this move is considered an attack on the condition of the existence of power and is punished. In this sense, what Beşikçi refers to as drawing the attention of the power is an attempt to transgress or try to transgress the boundaries. Ali Ergur gives a systemic explanation of this as follows:

> Such a mentality, conditioned to perceive the university as a marketplace, will undoubtedly lead to academic capitalism. The emergence of a competitive environment disguised with scientific justifications is one of the main characteristics of academic capitalism. Competition is, of course, a very fundamental stimulant as a preventive force against the formation of an academic environment that is plagued by inertia, that does not make any discursive development other than repeating itself, that does not contribute to the world scientific repertoire, and that is incapable of producing originality in the order of allegiance and authority. However, the competition in the perception of the university refracted through the business lens of today's world goes far beyond such an antidote and has an orientation that aims to make capitalist logic inherent in the nature of academic activity. The expectation that the general behavior of academics should be equipped with market reflexes, as in for-profit companies, has resulted in the articulation of the university with the capitalist psyche (2003, p. 198).

Therefore, if we think of this study as an attempt to violate boundaries, it would not be wrong to say that my being "rendered invisible" in the academy is due to the ideological nature of the academy, as Bora puts it.

2.4. Backstage of the Field and Research Environment

This section of the chapter is significant because it outlines the stages of a non-Kurdish researcher's engagement with the research question and the process of adaptation during fieldwork in a region where the Kurdish question intensified and escalated into a conflict. The two categories of the first encounter and the adaptation process aim to demonstrate how the researcher transforms and is transformed by the research object and how this transformation occurs in a dialectical relationship while taking into account the aforementioned researcher profile.

2.4.1. The First Encountering

Excited to see the city from above towards the end of my flight, I activated my mobile phone camera and got ready to capture a few photographs. I ran through my head the maps of Diyarbakır that I had previously studied, trying to pinpoint places and areas. As the plane circled over the city for landing, I noticed Sur. The initial images were a little blurry and out of focus. I waited with my phone in my hand since I was not sure if it would move any closer or not. When the plane took a turn, Sur fell in front of me.

This is how I was able to capture four shots. Sur was mostly bald and desolate. The guesthouse I would stay at was in Vilayet, very close to Sur (10 minutes walking distance). It takes its name from the nearby Governor's Office (in front of which it is forbidden to drop off and pick up passengers, and even primary school students are subjected to CRC [Criminal Record Check]). To the east are the Municipality and the Courthouse. It is surrounded by the military zone (Ofis side) right behind it. The guesthouse is on a big campus. There are lodgings and offices. My companion suggested that we could go to the Four-legged Minaret and other places close to the destruction. I immediately agreed. The video I had watched over and over again kept looping in my head. The two young men entering the street quickly; the guns; the sounds of the guns; Tahir Elçi[28] no longer in the angle when the camera took the Four-legged Minaret back into the frame; the young man throwing the gun on the ground as he ran; the narrow street on the left; the heavy gunshot marks on the Minaret; the dangerous sign on the Minaret... All of this was vividly in my mind at the beginning of the alley that the youth quickly entered. My heartbeat quickened, and my mouth went dry as I walked on. The Minaret, which I had seen in both video and photographs when it was illuminated during the day, rose like a tombstone in front of me. As I moved forward, Sarı Gelin [An Armenian traditional ballad] seemed to be playing in the background. In the desolate, dimly lighted area where Tahir Elçi was slain, I instantly became frozen. I thought of Türkan Elçi. How did she endure? Her daughter Nazenin? What if she missed him so much and wanted to come here now? What would I say when I saw them? Would I be ashamed, as in the case of Agamben's ashamed remnants of the Holocaust? In that last video of Elçi, in which we saw him being murdered, it occurred to me that the place where the public statement was made should actually be larger. There were iron blocks and tarpaulins around (on the Hevsel side, the east side). I could see that they were tile-colored. I moved towards the street, where the young man threw his gun and curled up. The tarpaulins continued towards there. Barriers were placed between us to hide the demolition. We could not stay there any longer.

---

[28] He is a Kurdish lawyer, the chairman of the Diyarbakır Bar Association and human right activist, who was killed at the time of a press conference on 28 November 2015, just before the indefinite curfew started. Tahir was assassinated under the historic Four-Legged Minaret in the demolished Sur, in an assassination whose perpetrators have yet to be revealed.

2.4.2. Adaptation Period

At first, I had very simple maps. I was especially careful to keep them simple because the street structure of Sur was very easy to get lost. However, since such maps have a high error rate, I gradually switched to more complex and detailed maps and, thus, to more accurate representations. As I conducted my interviews and went on exploratory tours outside of the interviews, my chances and rates of finding shortcuts in Sur, respite areas for myself, places where I could observe daily life, and places where I could see the demolition zone, which is a banned area, increased.

In addition to the interviews, my companion, who is also from Diyarbakır, and I had conversations about the pre-war period and before and after through photographs and news reports. Through her personal stories, my partner determined our routes in the time left over from the interviews. In this process, I also had the chance to get acquainted with the region's unique cultural productions, including Diyarbakır food. The food names, dance moves, and jokes in my interview notes summarize this period of acclimatization.

2.5. Data Collection and Research Methods

In this part, I will discuss staffing and time planning, along with a general introduction to the literature review. I will then discuss the interview method, which constitutes a significant data set for the thesis and, in this sense, points to its originality. Moreover, visual materials constitute a very important data set for this thesis. Photographs, videos, and maps are the visual materials used in this thesis. This not only reveals the evidence-ness of the visual material in terms of testimony but also facilitates the measurement and discussion of the extent of the visualized destruction. Throughout the interviews, documents belonging to various legal and real persons enriched the data set of the study. The literature review was strengthened with documents and information provided by the NGOs. In addition, online news is added as the data gathering technique to enrich the information about the general situation of the region and to see the extent of the destruction. In this section, I will start with the interviews, observations, and contacts with the local people that cover most of my fieldwork. Plus, the sources of artifactual materials, including photographs and paintings, and the data

from geographical tools such as GPS technologies for spacio-political reading of the issue.

For something lengthy as a Ph.D. dissertation, with so many contributors, staffing and time planning is very important. Especially qualitative research is more labor-intensive than other forms of research in this respect. If staffing and time management are organized from the beginning in such studies, the process will be more comfortable and transparent for all parties involved. As mentioned above, such studies require the collaboration of the team. In this thesis, as in many Ph.D. studies, this collaboration has been one of the most important aspects of the process. In my work, the team consists of the supervisor, the researcher, committee members, technical helpmates for visuals and security problems, and reviewers [for coding and analysis]). Collaboration was ensured for each contributor, as briefly described below. Periodic meetings and interviews with the supervisor during the writing process of the thesis; Juries formed for the Thesis Monitoring Committees to witness the whole course of the study and to contribute and criticize at every stage; Workshops and meetings with technical helpers both during the fieldwork and during the preparation of the visuals of the study; Post-review meetings for peer-reviewers during the preliminary coding and post-coding process. The time plan was mostly determined by the thesis monitoring committees and presented by me to the jury members at every stage of the study. When the timing was disrupted, the members were informed, and a new plan was created. The interruption of the pandemic disrupted the writing of the thesis and caused some methodological changes in the thesis. There have been some revisions regarding the field research areas. Due to the pandemic, the initial field zones planned for the research had to be scrapped, and the thesis was ultimately restricted to the city of Diyarbakır in the Sur province. Further, both epidemic and political concerns prevented a second trip to Diyarbakır, making it impossible to return and expand the current data.

The data collection starts with a literature review by building a mental frame. In addition to providing a theoretical basis, the literature review also provides a substantial data set for scholars. In addition, they also provide a methodological contribution by providing examples of various data collection methods and research designs. In this research, I used three models of literature review: context review, methodological review, and theoretical review (*figure-3*). In the first review, I started

with the “destruction” and the “ruin” keys which are linked to the general discussion of the urban context, and investigated whether these concepts and issues are used in other literature, especially in urban sociology, other than the literature of urbicide. In the methodological review, I focused on the problematization of how we can think about the killing of the city and also how we could define something as urbicide, and with which theoretical and methodological tools we can do it. Thus, it was an effort to see the strengths and failures of the studies within the field of urbicide with an emphasis on the conceptualization and the operationalization of the research question. In the last type of literature review, I wondered whether there could be an alternative and more systematic understanding of the issue of the relationship between destruction and the concept of urban, and thus searched different theoretical backgrounds like literature on space, collective memory, sociology of war and the literature on power.

Figure 3: Literature Review Models

2.5.1. In-Depth Interviews

It was planned to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews with a snowball sampling method. There will be four main groups that are thought to give different information and data related to the field (*figure-4*). These are city dwellers, officials,

representatives of non-governmental organizations, and experts[29]. Moreover, there will be factors such as gender, age, socio-economic status, ethnic identity, and relation with the region where the field study took place. Criteria[30] for selecting participants as city dwellers will include: a) being a dweller in the city for at least five years which is equivalent to the time one year before the war started (2014), in order to compare before and after situation; b) being a city dweller in the places where the destruction happened; c) being a city dweller during the war period in order to have the idea of the war and experience of destruction.

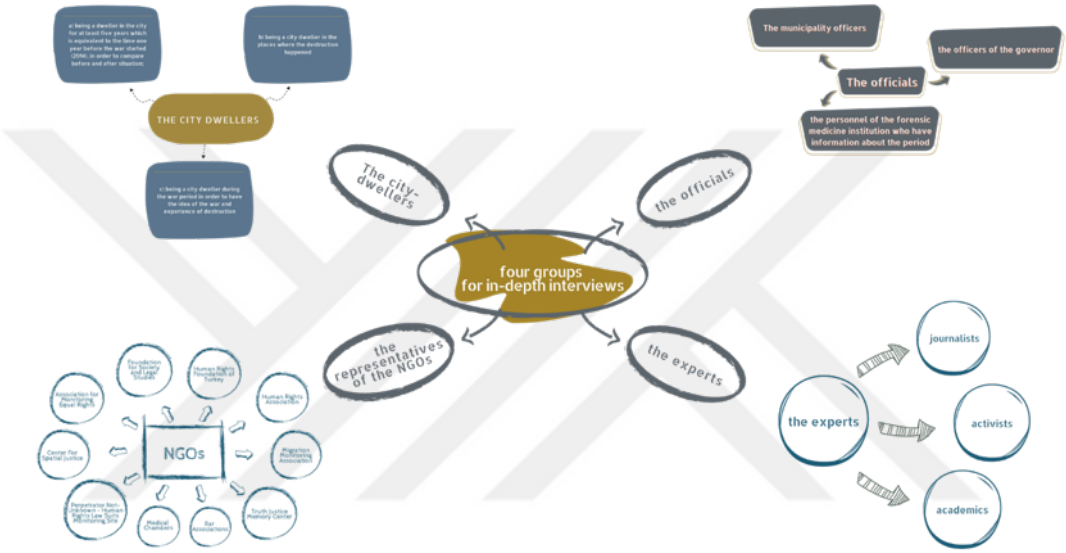


Figure 4 An Overview of Interview Groups

The officials will be composed of municipality officers, officers of the governor, and personnel of the forensic medicine institution who have information about the period. The representatives of the NGOs[31] are the human rights organizations like HRFT (Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı - Human Rights Foundation of Turkey), HRA (İnsan Hakları Derneği – Human Rights Association), MMA (Göç İzleme Derneği GÖÇİZDER – Migration Monitoring Association), TJMC (Hakikat Adalet Hafıza Merkezi, Truth Justice Memory Center), Faili Belli – İnsan Hakları Davaları İzleme Sitesi (Perpetrator Not-Unknown - Human Rights Law Suits Monitoring Site), AMER

[29] See Appendix-3: *Interviewee Profile List.*

[30] See Appendix-4: *Criteria for Research Participants as City-Dwellers*.

[31] See Appendix-5: *The Representatives of NGOs*.

(Eşit Haklar için İzleme Derneği, Association for Monitoring Equal Rights), CSJ (Mekânda Adalet Derneği, Center For Spatial Justice), together with Bar Associations and Medical Chambers (starting with Diyarbakır) and some associations related with law and justice like FSLS (Toplum ve Hukuk Araştırmaları Vakfı TOHAV-Foundation for Society and Legal Studies).

Lastly, the experts can be described as the journalists, activists, and academicians whose area of interest is the region, happenings in the region, and specifically the conflict after the year 2015. The structure of the interviews is going to be organized according to themes and categories of the field section: everyday life in the region (before and after stages), rhythm of the social life (before and after stages), experience of war, narratives on monuments, collective memory (before and after stages), being woman in the war, sense of space, the image of the power and lastly coping mechanisms and everyday resistance during the period of war.

The snowball sampling method is chosen for this study because it is difficult to gain access to the relevant/possible participants. Due to the sensitivity of the subject and the fact that it was a study that reminded the traumatic experiences of the participants. Thanks to the very solid references I found, I did not have many problems during the field research. In order to contact the dwellers, the research started with the NGOs and officials who could lead us to the relevant participants. In case of a language problem, there was a translator (my research partner) during the interviews, which were recorded on the condition of the permission of the participants. Since it is a highly sensitive and emotional subject, violent, explicit (bodies or other things), and wounding materials or visuals will not be used in the research.

2.5.1.1. Interview Questions

The themes that were discussed at the thesis monitoring committee, where I gave the thesis draft presentation, as well as the subjects stipulated by the theoretical backdrop, were taken into account when developing the questions. The four fundamental lines, which serve as the thesis' framework, were the first categories to be determined. These four lines are, once more, time, space, conflict, and necropolitics. These four fundamental aspects of the city's ruin were intended to be shown through the

questions. For ease of navigation during the interviews, the questions for each interview group were prepared by taking these four lines into account[32]. All the interviews for each group will start with the demographic questions of gender, age, marital status, ethnic identity (it is important for our investigation in the context of marginalization of the other), socioeconomic status, family type, and her/his relation to the region. The questions, which changed a lot during the interviews, were generally transformed by the interviewees[33]. In addition, interview forms/cards[34] were created after the talks, which provided great convenience for the researchers. These forms were filled in shortly after each interview, making it easier to remember the interviews when analyzing them.

2.5.2. Photography and Photo Documentation

Urgent. ... Have possibility of taking photos. ... Send film roll as fast as you can.

Jósef Cyrankiewicz and Stanislaw Klodzinski,

Auschwitz prisoners, in a note smuggled to the Polish Resistance, 1944

One of the greatest at conveying the fear and anxiety provoked by the image was Alfred Hitchcock. His photographic panopticon, especially in *Rear Window* (1954), is the disciplinary technique of the new century. This all-encompassing view, required for population control, has resulted in societal changes, including different spatial configurations, the practical application of statistical science, and social engineering. But the development of surveillance technology, the majority of which has a military

---

[32] See Appendix-6: *Interview Questions (both in English and Turkish)*.

[33] The reason for not including these changes is that since the interviews were conducted using a semi-structured technique, the order and sometimes the content of the questions differed for each interviewee. If there were very significant question changes, they were noted in the interview notes section of the interview cards. Since the interviews were transcribed verbatim, these changes were naturally included in the data analysis.

[34] See Appendix-7: *Interview Cards*.

basis, was primarily responsible for realizing the transformation of the *Zeit Geist* into the *Sight Geist* (Stewart, 2015). So much so that everything related to the private and the invisible has become codifiable, predictable, and as a result, surveilable, in addition to knowledge of the public domain or the visible. Stewart makes the following extremely clear in his book *Closed Circuits*:

> Monitoring is no longer necessarily rooted in things over-seen, super-vised. This new idea of surveillance taps a generalized source of anxiety about what can instead be intercepted in its coded digital form, mined, tabulated, aggregated. Privacy has found new ways to be violated, both by military-industrial and by corporate prying, all eyes aside (2015, p. xi).

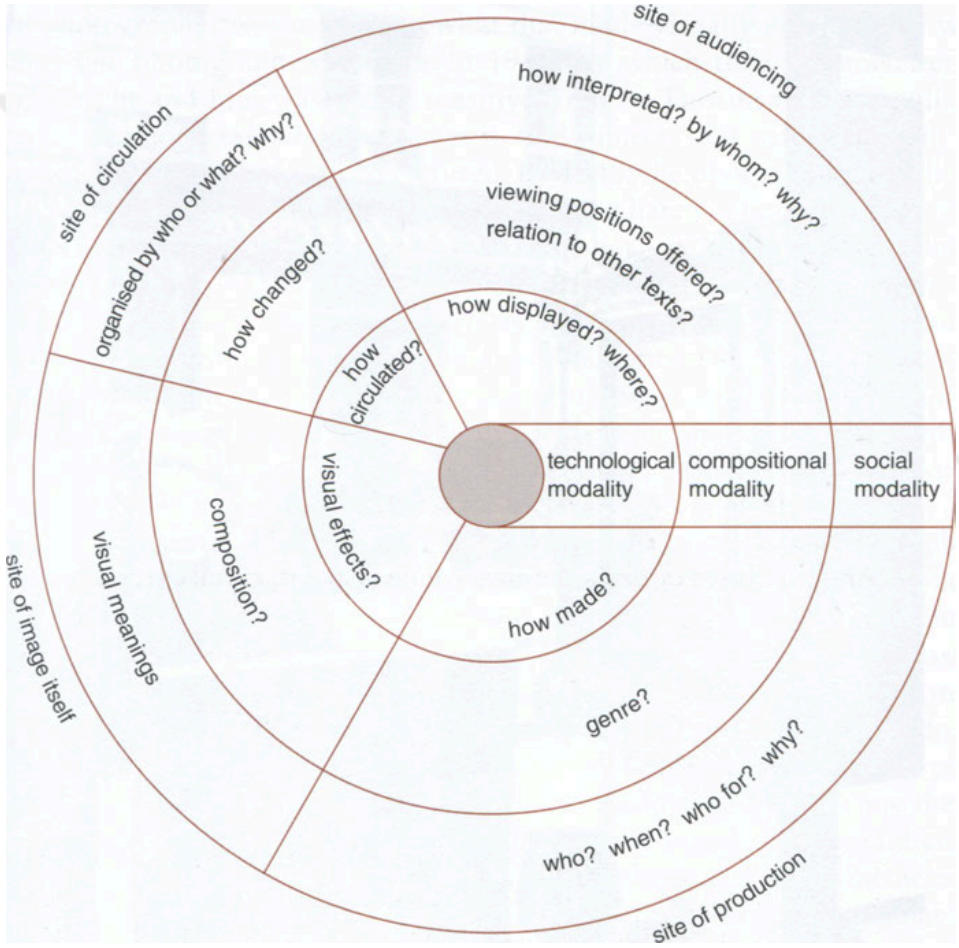


Figure 5: Rose's Diagram (2016)

Photography starts to be used as a weapon of violence or as violence itself as a result of this new conception of surveillance that gives the image of God-like power. In a way, the mantra of this surveillance system becomes the *vision as an all-seeing*. This scopophilic Geist, of which we see an exaggerated representation in *Rear Window*, on the one hand, refers to a panoptic reality, but on the other hand, offers possibilities for

different attachments to reality. Hitchcock's reputation as the *master of suspense* is largely attributed to his skeptical relationship with things. Adair asserts that Hitchcock tells the audience as he shows them the motel behind him that although it "might appear to be harmless but that it 'has now become known as the scene of the crime'" (2002, p. 7). Visual images, in this sense, indicate that there are other realities behind every reality. Different dynamics, different modalities, and different sites reveal the multifaceted and complex character of photography and visual methodology. As Rose's diagram (*figure-5*) shows, these different modalities create different worlds of meaning and different ontological grounds. Rose's diagram illustrates the four angles that a critical interpretation of an image might take: sites of audiencing, circulation, image, and production (2016, pp. 27-42). In the critical reading of images, in addition to these different faces, there are also different aspects. Therefore, a critical approach to images has many different dynamics, a complex structure, and multiple aspects. Qualitative research is in search of just such a quest: The qualitative behind the quantitative and the plurality of the qualitative.

Photography, as a method of monitoring, recording, and research, has been able to establish itself as a field of study in the social sciences during the past several decades, thanks in large part to the cultural shift and technological advancements that have occurred. There is a theoretical and also practical complexity in visual methodology and visual analysis. By moving from the physiological term vision to its politically equivalent visuality, we move into a phase called the *scopic regime* (Rose, 2016, p. 3). The phrase indicates that social construction governs what is seen and how it is seen. Visuality, in Rose's words, "refers to how vision is constructed in various ways: 'how we see, how we are able, allowed, or made to see, and how we see this seeing and the unseeing therein'" (2016, p. 3). I will begin with a critical and historical stance on photography in the following pages, based on an approach to the visual that Stimson refers to as the "sociology of the seen," and then I will concentrate on the relationship between photography and violence. The key issue of this section will be how visual data is handled within the parameters of this thesis, as well as for what reason and within what framework it is studied.

I will talk about four interrelated characteristics of images that can be considered paradoxical and, at the same time, should be kept in mind in visual analysis. In the first

two characteristics of an image, we can talk about the paradoxical relationship between mortality and photography that Roland Barthes draws attention to.

> Barthes once wrote that photographs always indicate a kind of mortality, evoking death in the moments in which they seem to arrest time, and that they conjure always the past, the 'what has been.' Photographs are one of the primary means through which we remember events, conjure up the presence of an absent person, and experience longing for someone we have lost or someone we desire but whom we have never seen or met (Sturken & Cartwright, 2018, p. 39).

On the one hand, the image is the transportation of the past into the present, of the dead into the living. In other words, in photography, the past, what has happened, and a historical moment is preserved in an image. On the other hand, it freezes the living at the moment and condemns it to death. The living is now fixed in the inorganic. In a manner, photography takes on the role of witnessing and the authority of proof by preserving the past and capturing it at the moment. Actually, a kind of this approach that has been somewhat institutionalized is photojournalism. Testimony becomes more vital, particularly when it comes to documenting abuses of human rights. On the other hand, such an interest in visual material leads to what Puwar calls the "fetishization of visual methods" (2009, p. 382). A situation that is not supported by a photograph or other visual material - which is the case for many human rights violations - is ignored. In a situation where the image is perceived as the only credible evidence, the absence of the image is used in favor of the perpetrator. In this regard, photography is associated with realism. However, the diagram we quoted from Rose above invalidates this claim of association in the critical analysis of the image. Hall makes the following statement in support of this diagram:

> It is difficult, if not by now impossible, to recapture the earlier meanings of these photographs. In any event, the search for their 'essential Truth' – an original founding moment of meaning – is an illusion. The photographs are essentially multiaccentual in meaning. No such previously natural moment of true meaning, untouched by the codes and social relations of production and reading, and transcending historical time, exists (1991, pp. 152–3).

This process, which is associated with the claim of objectivity and involves a lot of subjective evaluation, from the placement of the camera to the caliber of the lens, is fixed with political baggage. In this sense, especially with digital visualization softwares, we frequently witness the pornographic and violent aspects of photography. The image used as proof of violence also becomes a tool of violence and exploitation. Susan Sontag (2005) is one of the first figures that come to mind when the issue is

photography and violence. Sontag sees photography as the fixation of the live moment of violence. In a technological age where this embalming process is reproducible, violence is repeated and reaches large masses. "No image, no evidence; no evidence, no event" becomes the motto, and the fetishization of the visual reaches a disadvantageous point for the transmission of human rights violations.

However, despite such skeptical and negative approaches to image, Linfield's (2010) insistence on documenting and revealing the violation of rights has been taken as a basic principle in this study. The main reason for this is the widespread use of the visual in everyday life and its affective power to emotionally mobilize people. Firstly, the widespread use of the visual has benefited visual methodology due to both the cheapening of technology and people's interest in and trust in the persuasive power of the visual. Secondly, it points to the distinction Barthes makes in *Camera Lucida* (1981) between the *studium* and *punctum* as two separate aspects of photography. Studium is used to describe the situation in which the photograph produces a reasonable and disinterested effect. Punctum, on the other hand, corresponds to the state of the affect of the images used in this study, referring to the cathartic point in the effect of the image. The distinction between these two characteristics of photography was well summarized by Emmison and Smith as follows:

> Barthes argued that some photographs – he suggests the majority – provoke only a general or 'polite' interest. This quality to create a rational or disinterested response he refers to as *studium*. However, other photographs – or perhaps aspects of the same photograph – can rupture or break this complacency and inspire a more emotionally charged response, and this Barthes refers to as *punctum* (2007, p. 30).

This approach to image finds its methodical counterpart in photo documentation. According to this method, the researcher uses photos or other images that can be generated by the participant or also by the researcher herself. After the selection of the image and showing the images to the participant, then comes the photo-interviewing or projective interviewing part. According to Rose, photo documentation is

> Photo Documentation: A method that assumes photographs are accurate records of what was in front of the camera when its shutter snapped –"a precise record of material reality"- and takes photographs in a systematic way in order to provide data which the researcher then analyses (2016, p. 311).

Photo documentation is composed of two parts: the production of photographs or the selection of the images and the photo-interviewing part. The former method asks the participants to take photographs concerning the categories or themes that the

researcher informed. The method differs from other images or visuals which can be found other than a research project. It is because the images produced or used with respect to this technique are taken as part of the research process. For this reason, it will be an opportunity to gain new insights into social phenomena from the different layers of reality and also an affective approach to the research subject. Whilst talking about the strengths of the methods, Rose discusses that "photos can evoke quite different kinds of memories […] evoking the affective materiality of social life" (2016, p. 315-6) with a special reference to the productive side of the techniques that can be used for the analysis of everyday life and taken-for-granted issues in the quotidian life. In short, these methods were used in this research project in order to make the research more affective, to handle the issue from another perspective with another (visual) reality, and also to incorporate the participants into the project, which is seen as an attempt to include personal feelings and experiences into the research process that can at least minimizes the power relations between the researcher and the participant, as discussed in part regarding the participatory research perspective. The techniques for documenting anything other than visuals are covered in the next section.

2.5.3. Documents

This part will be composed of reports and analyses of the NGOs and experts, plus photographs taken by those individuals. These documents are not directly created by me within the scope of this thesis. They are documents of various scopes and purposes that I took from the archives of the institutions and individuals I interviewed and visited. Among them are reports recording the loss of rights in Sur after 2015, institutional notes with data on how education life was affected during the process, and remaining objects from Sur at the time of war (2015-2016). These documents will be used as auxiliary elements in the analysis rather than as direct data.

In particular, there are reports that civil society organizations quoted in the interviews or shared with me. I have e-copies of some of these reports. Internet address links for these reports are provided in the reference section of the thesis. Information and visuals of the reports used in the analysis, of which only hardcopies are available, are included in the appendices section. Reports that were not used in the thesis and that the interviewees did not allow to be shared were destroyed.

Figure 6: Thematic Card

Three types of information notes were used. The first is a thematic card (*figure-6*) to help remember the themes used in the interviews. These notes changed over the course of the interviews depending on which interview group the interviewee belonged to, the shortcomings or redundancies seen in previous interviews, and the direction of the interview. The thematic notes helped to establish a more friendly relationship with the interviewee and to ensure that the interviews took place in a conversational atmosphere without a memorized technical fact. Secondly, there are the notes, which are kept like a diary, and at the end of each day, I create a z-report. A separate notebook was kept for this purpose and was also attached as a note to the e-mail address created just for the thesis. The last information note is the interview notes, which I have discussed extensively above. These notes will enable the academic production to continue after the thesis is completed by using interviews.

2.5.4. Maps/Mapping

In order to see the effects and extent of the destruction, this work will get the help of the tools of geography, especially maps. The map is the manifestation of the panoramic view of the terra's political or geographical being. Throughout history, there have been many attempts to draw abstraction of the spaces in order to define the perspective and the position for so many reasons. Such that the first known attempt to draw the

terrestrial globe was Eratosthenes who was, an ancient statesman of the fifth century before B.C. and was the first person who calculated the circumference of the world correctly in that time period (Lacoste, 2014, p. 57). Plus, Leonardo da Vinci was the other known figure in the field of mapping: "The necessity of fixing them led to a 1502 aerial image of Imola, Italy, drawn almost as accurately as if he had been peering at the city through a Google satellite camera" (Open Culture, April 2019). They were, as a matter of course, hand drafts and were drawn with the help of the basics of the science of geometry and the experience. But in modern times, especially after the development of GPS technologies, more accurate, well-scaled maps and interactive maps have been produced. In this study, those maps which are produced by the data derived from satellite images will be used.

Although maps have become a part of everyday life with recent navigation technology, they have, in fact, been largely a panoptic tool of power. In its simplest definition, a map is a bird's-eye view of a piece of earth on a plane as a result of scaling determined by mathematical methods. In the instruction manual titled Map Knowledge, prepared by the Turkish General Staff - Land Forces Command, the map's main purpose is explained as follows, after stating that the map provides information about changes in landforms and structures: "cadastral maps show property elements. The map will provide confidence for the operations of the Armed Forces and increase *the applicability of their plans for strategic, tactical, and logistic activities*" (T.C. General Staff - Land Forces Command, 2018, p. 1).

As alluded to previously, the inquiry into the applicability of strategic, tactical, and logistic plans finds its locus within the context of military operations conducted by armed forces. Within this paradigm, the cartographic representation, serving as a tangible manifestation of the intricate interplay between nature and human agency, assumes a prominent role as a political artifact intimately tied to the dynamics of the *power economy*. The deliberate nature of determining which specific geographical regions necessitate cartographic scaling, the rationale underlying such decisions, and the nuanced skillset required for creating and interpreting maps collectively underscore the map's undeniable status as an instrument of power. This assertion aligns with the perspective advanced by Yves Lacoste, a notable proponent of radical geography and self-identified militant geographer. In his scholarly oeuvre, Lacoste explicitly designates the term "map" as emblematic of this power dynamic, thereby

encapsulating the multifaceted nuances inherent to its role within the broader geopolitical landscape.

> Much more than a set of statistics and text, a map is the highest form of geographical representation. All the information necessary for the formulation of tactics and strategies must be superimposed on the map. The map, this formalization of space, is neither free nor neutral. As an instrument of inevitable domination, the domination of space, the map is primarily prepared by and for the authorities[35] (2014, p. 51).

According to Lacoste, such a costly and labor-intense work/activity can solely be undertaken by the apparatuses of the system. It is an effort to transform unfamiliar concreteness into an abstract representation. In order to create such an abstract representation, being political and scientific cognizant of the space which is represented on the map. Lacoste claims that there are certain maps which are defined as "map of staff (*kurmay haritası*)" that are counted as military secrecy (Lacoste, 2014, p. 51). In that sense, he adumbrates that geography and specifically the maps, which are assumed naïve and purified in terms of dirty politics of the social sciences which are value-laden, are politics-laden, and substantially they are the tools of the power and the catalyzer of the national ideology (2014, pp. 80-1). From then on, geography cannot be seen just as the area/field of organization of the regions or military operations, but it is a scientific way of getting the discipline on the terra. It becomes a significant disciplinary mechanism with geopolitics which has Hitlerian historicity. In other words, geography is the *logos* of the spaces which will be lived on and which will be ruined. In the words of Lacoste, "the application of new methods of warfare requires a very precise analysis of geographical compositions, of the relations between people and the 'natural conditions' to be destroyed or modified in order to render a certain territory uninhabitable or to engage in genocide[36]" (2014, p. 54).

Bearing the politics-laden character of the maps in mind, this study will use the maps as the source of data in order to show the location and the position of the region plus

---

[35] Original text: "Bir dizi istatistik ve yazılar bütününden çok daha fazlası olan harita, coğrafi temsilin en üst biçimidir. Taktiklerin ve stratejilerin oluşturulması için gerekli bütün bilgiler, haritanın üzerine getirilmelidir. Harita, yani mekânın bu şekilde formalleştirilmesi bedava olmadığı gibi yansız da değildir. Kaçınılmaz tahakkümün, mekân tahakkümünün aracı olan harita, öncelikle yetkililer tarafından ve yetkililer için hazırlanır."

[36] Original text: "yeni savaş metodlarının uygulanması, coğrafi bileşimlerin, belli bir bölgeyi yaşanmaz kılmak veya soykırıma girişmek üzere yok edilecek veya değiştirilecek 'doğal koşullar' ile insanlar arasındaki ilişkilerin çok net analizini gerektirir."

to demonstrate and visualize the extent of the destruction. At this very point, it would be appropriate to introduce *forensic architecture*, which is a newly developing literature and also a research agency, established at the Goldsmiths University of London in England. According to this research agency (Forensic Architecture [FA]), which combines visuals, maps, and technology, forensic architecture refers to the "production and presentation of architectural evidence—relating to buildings, urban environments—within legal and political processes" (Forensic Architecture, 2023). For this thesis, forensic architecture is particularly important in showing the relationship between destruction and architecture. The link between urbicide and space is shown more strongly through the framework that forensic architecture presents by combining murder and architecture. Pattern analysis used in the case of Tahir Elçi is of critical importance for this study. With the definition of FA pattern analysis can support the assertion that a set of singular abuses or violations of human rights, taken together, are in fact by nature 'widespread and systematic'—an important standard in a variety of human rights law contexts" (Forensic Architecture, 2023).

In addition to satellite images, the creative map technique will be used to minimize this ethical responsibility that can be quipped as "being the eye of the power." What Lacoste suggests for a "good" geographer is valid for a "good" urban sociologist: "The role of a geographer is to help his or her paisans to think better about 'their space' (today called 'their place') in order to live there better and, in particular, to defend it more effectively[37]" (2014, p. 69). "Their" spaces cannot be comprehended by just zooming in. There is another layer which is called *everyday life*. For this reason, maps, visuals, and interviews will be used together in this study to try to access the knowledge of the everyday.

2.6. Data Analysis Procedures

This part focuses on how to deal with the data in an analytical endeavor. According to Saldaña, this process starts "by carefully documenting the whos, whens, wheres, how *muchs* and most importantly the *whats* of social life. […] We enter an analytical realm

[37] Original text: "Bir coğrafyacının rolünün, hemşerilerine, orada daha iyi yaşamak ve özellikle de orayı daha etkili bir şekilde savunmak için mekanı 'onların mekanını (Bugün onların alanı denilir) daha iyi düşünebilmeleri için yardımcı olmak[tır]."

when we pose how (or in what ways) and why questions about what we observe" (2015, p. 20). The next sections will go over information on how all of these questions were addressed during this study. First of all, the transcription of the interview recordings, which constitute an important part of the data, the Kurdish, Turkish and English translations, and the ethical, political, and practical dimensions of these "transformation" activities will be discussed. The detailed discussion of the coding procedure will be followed by an introduction to the digital tools used in the analysis and data visualization.

2.6.1. Transcription: A Form of Inquiry?

Here, not only is transcription a creation, but translation is a regenerative process. What was spoken had to be translated, sometimes from Kurdish into Turkish and then into English, and sometimes from Turkish into English, during the field research and analysis. As the Italian literary critic Benedetto Croce describes it, translation is a process of reproduction, of re-creation. Studying with words is a selective process "reflecting theoretical goals and definitions" (Ochs, 1979, p. 44). Emphasizing this selectivity, Davidson talks about the ethical dimension of the process.

> The process is a selective one whereby certain phenomena or features of talk and interaction are transcribed. […] Because it is impossible to record all features of talk and interaction from recordings, all transcripts are selective in one way or another. Selectivity needs to be acknowledged and explained in relation to the goals of a study rather than taken to be unremarkable (2009, p. 38).

In this study, this process of re-creation has necessarily taken place. I hope that I have done justice to what has been said, what has been spoken, and sometimes the silences. If there is a misunderstood translation or expression, I take full responsibility for it. This work contains more than just a transcription from one language to another. Additionally, there are transcriptions from spoken to written, from seen to heard, and from written to seen. I did the spoken transcription into text with the aid of a few digital tools. These include Voicedoc, Dictation Version 3.32 (226), GoogleDocs Dictation, and ExpressScribe. A verbatim translation was preferred. In the translation, descriptive expressions such as giggling, laughter, crying, shouting, silence, facial expressions, bodily articulations, as well as emotional expressions that change the meaning, intense use of mimicry, and where it is important to indicate reinforcement were included. The transformation from visual to verbal was mostly used in cases where interviewees were

asked to interpret the photo documents given to them during the interview and in the visual analysis in the fourth chapter of the study. Finally, the transformation of text into image constitutes the photo-documentation itself. Because the images used in the study represent the visualization of the narrative of destruction in Sur.

2.6.2. Coding Procedure

Codifying means classifying anything, putting it into a system, or arranging items in a systematic sequence. A code, according to Saldaña, "in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 3). The coding process consists of creating codes, coding the transcribed interviews, coding the audio-visual material, and verifying all these processes. The codes were structured according to four basic categories: historical, conceptual, thematic, and practical. In historical coding, important historical moments in Turkish political history were included in a sequence. However, the main focus here is on the coding of the pre-war, wartime, and post-war periods. Conceptual coding was shaped around the basic conceptual framework of the theoretical background in the initial process. In the recoding, certain patterns from the data and concepts that emerged from the elaboration of theoretical readings were added to this section. Certain categories could have collections of coded data that call for further classification into subcategories. You start to go beyond the "reality" of your data and into the thematic, conceptual, and theoretical when the primary categories are contrasted and combined in different ways. This section's main determinants were similarity, difference, frequency, and correspondence. Unlike conceptual coding, thematic coding consists of patterns that come directly from the data and contain important emphases rather than a theoretical basis. Finally, practical coding consisted of coding the data transcriptions that could be used as epigraphs, which encapsulated both the theoretical and ethical dimensions of the thesis.

2.6.2.1. Pre-Coding

The pre-coding period was actually the coding I used the most in the analysis part. This coding period actually corresponds to scanning the data with procedures and

methods such as crossing out, highlighting, coloring, circling, and underlining. This period covers both the transcription process and the first readings of the data. Boyatzis calls the practice of this period "codable moments" (Boyatzis, 1998).

In this sense, coding starts with field research. For example, while the interviews were recorded in this study, important points were also noted in the field notebook. Here, many recorded statements and notes were used as codes. Subsequently, in the transcription process, the statements that were bolded, underlined, and annotated were coded. Again, the texts recorded as memos were used for this purpose at the beginning of the coding process.

2.6.2.2. Coding Methods and Types

The *initial coding*[38] process represents the foundational stage in the overall coding procedure. Saldaña aptly characterizes initial coding as the generation of "first impression" phrases emanating from an open-ended analytical process (2009, p. 4). Following the preliminary pre-coding step, the entirety of the dataset is holistically considered, and codes are formulated on the basis of initial insights. It is during this juncture that the initial phase of data analysis unfolds, effectively partitioning the data into discreetly coded segments, a process which Saldaña describes as the "fracture[s] or split[s] the data into individually coded segments" (2009, p. 42). Moreover, this phase of initial coding encompasses a distinctive categorization technique known as *In Vivo coding*, whereby codes are directly elicited from the raw data itself. This methodological approach serves the dual purpose of underscoring the genuineness of the data while also engendering significant conceptual contributions to the development of grounded theories. Thus, *In Vivo coding*, as an integral facet of initial coding, assumes a pivotal role in safeguarding data authenticity and fostering the evolution of theoretical frameworks.

Advanced techniques for rearranging and reanalyzing data coded using First Cycle methods are *Second Cycle coding* methods. These techniques "'focus' the codes into

[38] As the name implies, the previously noted precoding step is performed prior to coding and typically lacks a formal systematization. The researcher is not yet in control of the data set. In initial coding, the data set is in front of the researcher, and the first systematic coding is done at this stage.

categories, prioritize them to develop 'axis' categories around which others revolve, and synthesize them to formulate a central or core category that becomes the foundation for explication of a grounded theory" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 42). Pattern coding, focused coding, axial coding, and theoretical coding are all included in the second cycle, which makes up this second data analysis phase. In this study, these secondary cycle procedures were also applied. A meta-code known as a pattern code is used to reveal certain patterns in the data. These codes in this type are "explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation. They pull together a lot of material into a more meaningful and parsimonious unit of analysis" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 69). In addition to finding a pattern, frequently repeated statements can also turn into codes in the second phase, called as *Focused Coding*. In the context of this thesis, repeated confessions were taken into consideration and constituted an important part of the coding process. *Axial coding* consists of sub-codes created to elaborate a code or theme and make it more descriptive. These sub-codes also make the conceptual framework more descriptive and detailed. Lastly, *Theoretical Coding*, unlike other types of coding, is the coding of all data around a principal category, i.e., the research question. This principal category "appears to have the greatest explanatory relevance" regarding the research problematic (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 104).

2.6.2.3. Post-Coding

The code browser was peer-reviewed with knowledge of the field and MAXqda. The peer reviewer, Merve Fidan, Ph.D. in psychology, evaluated the code browser, particularly on whether the coding contained errors, whether there was double coding, whether there were any misinterpretations, and whether the codes were relevant to the research question. Fidan noticed that the coding was incorrect in 5 different interviews (coding and coded segments did not match), and with her suggestion, the coding was re-evaluated and changed. In all of her suggestions, there is an evaluation that the coded segment points to a more general code rather than a subcode. These changes did not result in any reorganization of the code browser. Coded segments have been transferred to more inclusive codes. Below, Fidan's peer evaluation feedback is shared as it is.

> In describing the post-coding experience of the data collected in this Ph.D. thesis, I would like to start a little bit personally. Since the region where the data for the Ph.D. thesis was collected is my hometown, I should mention its emotional weight.
>
> For example, Hasırlı Neighborhood, one of the aforementioned regions, is the region where my family was born and raised, and it is a place that has hosted some memories from my childhood. Moreover, the Four-Legged Minaret or Suriçi are places with unforgettable memories for anyone who has crossed paths with Diyarbakır in some way, and they were for me as well. It was, therefore, impossible not to feel sadness, anger, and helplessness while reading the coded interviews.
>
> As someone from outside the field of sociology, having used MAXQDA for both academic and non-academic purposes in my Ph.D. thesis and before, even though I see familiarity with the software as a commonality, the data content and, therefore, the coded data were different from my field of study.
>
> Some of the concepts used by the researcher were concepts that I had not heard of before or did not know what they meant when used in a sociological sense. For example, while I was quite familiar with the concepts she used in the main codifications when dealing with the necropolitical and the spatial dimension, the combination of rhythm and syncope in the temporal dimension was something I had never encountered before. Of course, I knew the meaning of rhythm in music and the medical meaning of syncope, but using them together in this kind of analysis was new to me, and it was a concept that I researched.
>
> First, I went from the most coded interview to the least coded interview, focusing especially on the interviews with a relatively low number of coding, and checked whether there were any data that the researcher had missed even though they were in accordance with the codes specified by the researcher in the code set.
>
> Secondly, more quickly than the former, starting from the code set, I checked whether there were any erroneous transfers to sub-codes that I might have missed in the initial review.
>
> I did not offer any new suggestions to the researcher in the sense of code or subcode suggestions.

After discussing the coding process, I can move on to the digital tools used in the research.

2.6.3. Digital Tools Used in the Research

To store, maintain and analyze the data corpus, I used Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) such as MaxQDA, DiscoverText, WordCloud, GPS technologies, graphic design software (Canva and Adobe-InDesign), and Transcription software.

According to Kaefer et al. (2015), QDAS is a valuable tool that enables researchers to visualize data in ways that are not possible with manual methods or non-specific software. As Costa et al. (2017) point out, this digitalization provides transparency,

teamwork, and confidence for researchers. QDAS is particularly useful for managing large data sets and intensive coding work, as it enables users to navigate, customize, and filter data to make it more manageable and user-friendly. Additionally, these tools contribute significantly to the visualization and analysis of data visuals.

It was my good fortune to encounter MAXqda before I started writing the thesis and to take a course on this digital tool with a semester-long application. First of all, I came across a tool that allowed me to systematize and organize the analysis part of the thesis, no matter how complex or voluminous my data set was, and this made me incredibly comfortable throughout the thesis. Secondly, since the combination of artificial intelligence and qualitative was very interesting, it aroused my curiosity about digitalization, graphic and visual design, and program languages. In this way, I had the chance to take courses on many data visualization programs, digital tools, and different software languages.

2.7. Orientation for the Method and Methodology

This study presents a background for understanding the destruction of the built environment in Diyarbakır Sur based on qualitative methodology. Space, time, war, and necropolitics form the skeleton of this background, which the study identifies as the four main pillars for understanding the urbicide in Sur. Below you will find a brief description of the methods and techniques used in the analysis section, which I think may be useful for orientation.

Urbicide is essentially the destruction of *space*, the built environment, and the urban fabric. In this sense, the targeting of the city and the urban with militarist motives are different from other practices of destruction and annihilation. In order to reveal the spatial projection of urbicide in Diyarbakır Sur, classic maps, mind maps, visuals such as videos and photographs, as well as interviews based on question sets that include spatial comparisons of the pre- and post-war period of 2015 were used. Maps and mind maps, in particular, clearly show the impact of urban destruction on infrastructure and architecture. Again, comparative visuals (before-and-after technique) are important technical tools for understanding the destruction of the urban fabric.

The second part of the thesis structure, *time*, is fundamentally related to urban rhythm and memory. In cities where "memory is both burden and liberation" (Crinson, 2005, p. xi), targeting this urban memory is an important area of debate. With urbanization, memory has received such attention that museums, amenity groups, conservation areas, and monuments have been embraced and made more visible than ever before. In a sense, urbicide is the destruction of urban memory, which is defined by Crinson as such:

> Urban memory can be an anthropomorphism (the city having a memory) but more commonly it indicates the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city's sequential building and rebuilding (2005, p. xii)

The third backbone, the notion of *war*, was tried to be understood through secondary data, especially documents and materials I collected from NGOs, state and civil society reports on the conflicts, press texts published by the state, official documents, and inventory lists of the armed forces. News reports on the use of heavy weapons in Sur were collected, and the interview groups mentioned above were asked about this situation.

Finally, *necropolitics* constitutes another important cornerstone of the thesis in terms of understanding the specific structure of power relations in which urbicide takes place. In order to reveal the power relations here, interviews with the aforementioned groups were utilized. Topics such as war-related deaths, cemeteries, and the state's practices regarding the dead after the war constituted the main questions in semi-structured interviews. In addition to the interviews, news about attacks on cemeteries, videos, and press releases about the treatment of dead bodies during the war are included. In the next section, the classical theories of urban sociology and the philosophical background of the urbicide literature on the processes of urban destruction will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL GAZE AT URBAN IN THE CONTEXT OF DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE AND THE THEORY OF URBICIDE

You are different with a gun in hand; the gun is different with you holding it. You are another subject because you hold the gun; the gun is another object because it has entered into a relationship with you.

Bruno Latour, 1994, p.33

Urban theories constitute a rigorous intellectual endeavor aimed at comprehending the genesis of cities, discerning their structural disparities, charting their evolutionary trajectories, and elucidating their intrinsic interplay with the socio-economic and cultural milieu within which they are situated. This chapter section embarks on a nuanced exploration of the concept of urbanity, employing historical and theoretical lenses to trace its evolution over time. It is imperative to underscore that this undertaking does not lay claim to a definitive commencement point but strives to elucidate the notion of the urban, commencing with its nascent emergence as a "symbolic world," an idea initially articulated by Lewis Mumford. Nevertheless, this examination primarily centers on the overarching comprehension and theories underpinning the modern manifestation of the urban milieu and its intellectual progression. Within the overarching framework of this chapter, the conceptual and historical treatment of urbanity takes on a distinctive dimension as it threads its discourse through the prism of conflict and violence. The chapter's thematic pivot resides in the exploration of theories and paradigms that scrutinize urban phenomena in the context of war and violence, furnishing indispensable analytical tools for the comprehensive elucidation of the central thesis of this study, namely, the notion of *urbicide*.

The selection of these theoretical frameworks aimed at elucidating the intricacies of the urban predicament is fundamentally rooted in a deliberate curation process drawn

from the prevailing strains of thought that have exerted considerable influence within the realm of urban discourse, particularly in the milieu of urban literature, which has undergone a profound evolution, particularly since the 19th century. The theoreticians whose works have been chosen for examination within this corpus of literature occupy well-established niches and are situated within a rich scholarly tradition.

The texts under consideration have been meticulously chosen for their discernible engagement with the complex discourse surrounding urbanity, with a specific focus on the themes of destruction, ruination, and violence. In this analytical endeavor, a concerted effort has been made to unearth segments or vestiges of ideational content that transcend a mere formulation-centric perspective, thereby affording enhanced attention to the conceptualization of the urban entity and the diverse methodologies employed in its management. This endeavor aligns with the insightful observation made by Katznelson, who astutely emphasizes the need to broaden the analytical scope beyond formation-centric paradigms, thereby emphasizing the importance of not only defining urbanity but also comprehending the multifarious approaches to urban governance and administration.

> The large city -as a central arena and symbol of modernity; as the product and locale of such fundamental social processes as state-making and capitalist development; and as the generative locale for the formation of collective identities and collective action- thus provided an inescapable setting and subject for nineteenth- and twentieth-century social theory, albeit a setting and subject usually only tacit or implicit (Katznelson, 1992, p. 11).

This understanding shows us how "an inescapable setting and subject for nineteenth- and twentieth-century social theory" is formed. As a symbol of modernity, a large city or metropolis is the creation of modern reason. As mentioned somewhere in this text, modern reason and the nation-state have brought the cities into focus. In this chapter of the thesis, I will broaden the limits of the review from modernity to post-modernity. In the words of Thomas and Walsh, the modern world is

> a world that emerged in the West largely from the seventeenth century onward in the form of a radical disjunction with traditional societies to become characterized in opposition to them by: a large and heterogeneous population; a high level of industrialization; a primarily capitalist and market economy; highly specific and structurally organized forms of social differentiation and division; a territorial and administrative system based on the nation-state in terms of which both citizenship and civic communal membership are organized and in which political activities and processes are shaped and structured; and an increasing domination by science and technology (1998, p. 363).

Following this political economy reading of the urban, the focus will be on the postmodern understanding of urban, referred to as heterogeneity, fragmentation, and plurality, and most notably, going beyond -ism. For Thomas and Walsh, it can be defined as

> a globalizing post-industrial world of media, communication and information systems. It is organized on the basis of a market-orientated world of consumption rather than work and production; a fragmented and pluralistic community of heterogeneous groups with diverse cultures and lifestyles; a world in which the nation-state has been shrunk by privatization, marketization, internationalization, and new forms of citizen and civil rights. Increasingly, in postmodernity, political life rejects traditional class- and party-based power politics for micro-political activities and social movements (1998, p. 364).

Urban analysis, within the purview of this consideration, demonstrates an expansive and almost boundless research terrain, both in terms of the range of units of analysis and the multifaceted array of perspectives employed in elucidating the genesis of urban centers. In consonance with this multifarious panorama, Katznelson astutely articulates the following perspective regarding the breadth and scope of this analytical endeavor:

> For, […] this fragmentation is rooted not only in the immensity of the subject, but in the theoretical grounding of the most twentieth-century urban studies in a model of cities and society that underscores the real and perplexing complexity of modern industrial societies. […] The immense variety of urban subjects, theories, classifications, and methods is symptomatic of a lack of certainty not only as to whether the social sciences possess the tools necessary to analyse cities, but as to whether the city, as both an empirical and a theoretical construct, constitutes a coherent entity to be studied (1992, pp.4-5).

The symptom that Katznelson mentioned in the cited quotation draws attention to a pivotal inquiry within the text, namely, whether the city, functioning both as an empirical and theoretical construct, possesses the requisite coherence for systematic examination. Put differently, it explores how one might delineate the symbolic and conceptual boundaries demarcating the urban entity. Katznelson's discerning emphasis on "the real and perplexing complexity of modern industrial societies" fundamentally encapsulates the crux of this quandary within the purview of twentieth-century urban studies. Importantly, designating this genuine complexity also engenders fragmentation, mirroring a process of *interpellation* that, in its very essence, establishes a domain of power. This type of naming, akin to Adam's act of naming the inhabitants of Paradise, thereby "translating Being into language," invokes an

analogous concern regarding nomenclature, as expounded by Susan Buck-Morss with reference to Walter Benjamin, as follows:

> […] the idea of the "name" refers to the God-granted, cognitive power of humans, among all-natural creatures, to translate Being into language, that is, to reveal its meaning: Adam, as the first philosopher, named the creatures of Paradise. It is just this power—and moral responsibility as divine creatures—that humans, sinfully, throw away when they allow themselves to *be* named by a mythic fate and bow down before it (1989, p.104).

Therefore, I want to know whether there is a dominating way of seeing urban that differs from other readings of urban theories and approaches to the urban issue. We will analyze the predominant paradigm in urban literature, which is constructivism, whether we call it deconstruction or see it through specific lenses (*figure-7*). Within the context of the present study, I have chosen to focus on the following thinkers, traditions, and schools to trace the concept of urban in urban literature with a particular reference to the destruction, death, violence, ruination, and demolition of the symbols. It will attempt to read the classical urban theory through the lenses of the literature on urbicide and necropolitics. As aforementioned, modern city studies have a history reaching the 19th century. Although interest was not directly in the city itself, they have been counted and referred to as the first urban studies focusing on modern industrial cities.

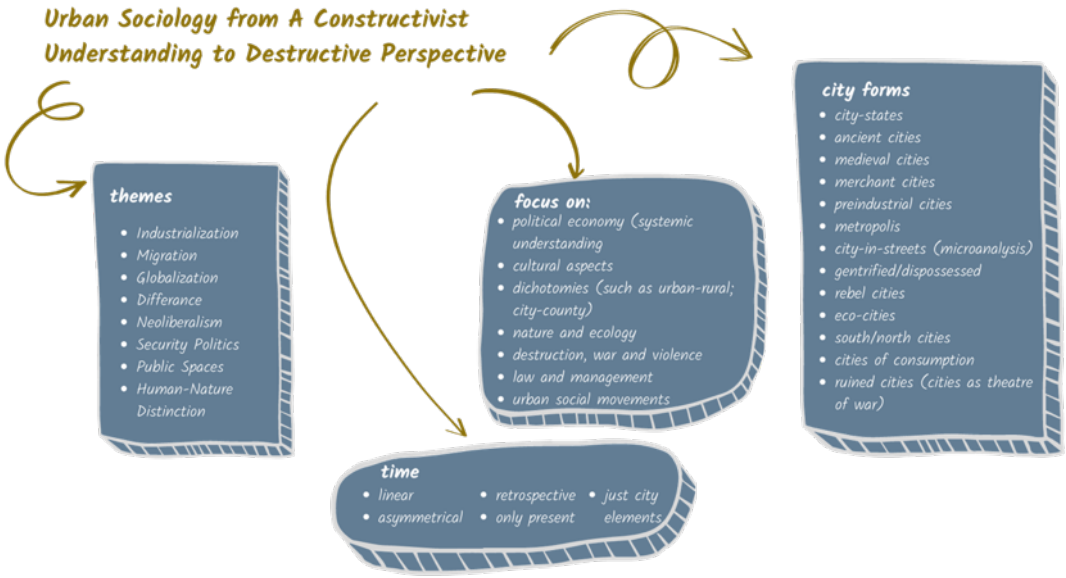


Figure 7: Urban Sociology from A Constructivist Understanding to Destructive Perspective

After focusing on the classics, I will examine the ideas of the influential figures in the literature: George Simmel, with his analysis of the modern city and its social types,

and Walter Benjamin, with his urban experience and concept of the *flaneur*. In the third section of the chapter will come the first urbanists, the Chicago School of urban theory. Especially their Durkheimian and Darwinian background will be the central focus point. Manuel Castells, with his arguments on consumption and social movements, will be the main figure of the next section of the chapter. I am going to examine how these aspects of urban life, in fact, pinpoint the non-urban character of the issue. In the next section, the theory of space and urban Lefebvre will be the main object to discuss. I will focus on the concept of "monument" in his readings in particular.

The sixth section will be a reading of the political economy of urban with a particular emphasis on David Harvey, Neil Smith, and some other neo-Marxist scholars. As it is known, researchers from geography have covered 20th-century urban literature. Many geographers, from the anarchist movement to the post-colonial literature, have somehow touched on the urban issue. Among these, we will consider the three figures we see as the basis for our work: Élisée Reclus, Yves Lacoste, and Derek Gregory. Before concluding, I will lastly touch upon the post-modern understating of the urban issue through the works of Edward Soja, a geographer with a particular emphasis on *post-modern geographies*.

The journey of the concept of urban, which will be dealt with *socio-spatial perspective* with reference to Gottdiener and Hutchison, brings an understanding that leads us to the literature of urbicide in every node. I will focus on the formation, development, and transformation of cities and the destruction issue that is secondary in these theories. Although they are not directly and clearly named as urbicide, this thesis asserts that many cases can be read through the notions of destruction and ruin, which have been the major focus points of urban theory.

3.1. The Main Streams in Urban Sociology with Lenses of Violence and Destruction

The urban environment is a rich web of intertwined social, economic, and political dynamics that shape its dwellers' experiences and daily lives. For the purpose of unraveling this tangled network, urban sociology has emerged as a vital academic

discipline. This section delves into the main streams in urban sociology, focusing specifically on the lenses of violence and destruction by examining the intricate interplay between urban structures, social processes, and the prevalence of destructive practices. My goal is to clarify the complicated dynamic between urbanization, violence, and destruction in modern society via an in-depth examination of fundamental theoretical frameworks, thereby contributing to the field of urban sociology.

3.1.1. Classics

This section will discuss theories of pioneers of the social sciences in terms of the urban context. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels will be on the stage at first, and then Max Weber will take the floor. Although the classics provide a necessary theoretical background for urban sociology, it takes work to relate them directly to urbanism. As Mike Savage and Alan Warde point out, rather than being directly interested in the issue of urban, they mainly paid attention to urban problems like "unemployment, poverty, social unrest, rootlessness, congestion and so forth" (1993, p. 9). In this sense, the focus here will only be on the significant works of the aforementioned figures.

As it is well known, among these figures, Marx almost does not directly touch the issue of urban or city. In his works, urban morphology becomes the permanent backdrop. His scenes are composed of the exploitation and alienation process of the capitalist system, which is narrated in the lives of the villagers who had been taken from their lands and experiences of new city-dwellers who had been forced to live inhumane conditions. In his analysis of capitalism and its mode of production, Marx pinpoints the distinction between town and country. Although they are taken as the "crime scene" of the capitalist system's cruelty, town, and country antithesis gives us a clue about the issue of urban in Marx's understanding. Marx says:

> The foundation of every division of labor which has attained a certain degree of development, and has been brought about by the exchange of commodities, is the separation of town from country. One might well say that the whole economic history of society is summed up in the movement of this antithesis (1976, p. 472).

The main point here is that space is the actualization of use-value and exchange-value, which is the main symptom of the capitalist system. For Marx, the analysis of the city gains importance in order to analyze class relations. In the words of Parker,

> The single most important explanation for the growth in urban populations in this period was the development of commerce and industry, and therefore, for Marx and Engels, the industrial city contained within it all the contradictions of a class society built on a minority ownership of production and its ruthless exploitation of the propertyless majority through wage slavery (2004, p. 102).

However, the antithesis of town and country is still secondary to the analysis of Marx: "Their concern is not with the city per se but with capitalist processes that are most clearly revealed in an urban context" (Saunders, 1986, p. 10). It is not the engine of a transformation in real terms. As Katznelson points out,

> The city as such was neither central in a descriptive sense, nor manifestly the main subject, of such great theorists as Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Toennies, and Simmel. Each dealt with the city, of course, but only as a small part of the larger project of coming to terms with an industrial, capitalist, state-centered modernity. Just the same, the large modern city was an inescapable and constitutive element of all their considerations of these hallmarks of the modern world (1992, p. 10).

Suffice it to say that analyzing the entire corpus of Marx is entirely out of the scope of this study. However, we will examine especially the books in which there is an emphasis on the urban and city and the texts where transparency of the urban backdrop is slightly reduced. In that sense, the primary of those texts in our context will be his *magnum opus* "Capital," "Wage Labor and Capital," and "18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte". In Marx's urban morphology, misery, poverty, and space as an arena for social unrest (like in the case of *Commune*) are depicted as significant aspects with the influence of his collaborator Friedrich Engels.

Friedrich Engels, compared to Marx, was more interested in the issue of urban and city. Especially his observations and analysis in his hometown constitute both a methodological example for urban studies and proof that the issue cannot be addressed only at the macro level alone. In this chapter, we will use *The Condition of the Working Class in England by* Engels as the primary source to analyze how Engels handled the issue of urban. Engels takes the distinction between town and country to its extreme as the distinguishing feature of the system. While the reference to the city is limited in Marx, in Engels, it is treated more comprehensively as a housing problem. Transition to *Industrial society*, which emerged through the division of labor, rose, obviously, on the basis of a spatial arrangement. In this transition, it was necessary to provide suitable spatial conditions for separating physical and mental labor. Engels presents poverty schemes as forms of violence concerning the urban landscape created by this

dialectical separation. As seen in the passage, I quote long passage below, the spatial differentiation between classes has also become a space of violence.

> The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarter or even with workers, that is, so long as he confines himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with outspoken conscious determination, the working-people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middleclass; or, if this does not succeed, they are concealed with the cloak of charity. Manchester contains, at its heart, a rather extended commercial district, perhaps half a mile long and about as broad, and consisting almost wholly of offices and warehouses. Nearly the whole district is abandoned by dwellers, and is lonely and deserted at night; only watchmen and policemen traverse its narrow lanes with their dark lanterns. […] And the finest part of the arrangement is this, that the members of this money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the labouring districts to their places of business *without ever seeing* that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and the left. For the thoroughfares leading from the Exchange in all directions out of the city are lined, on both sides, with an almost unbroken series of shops, and are so kept in the hands of the middle and lower bourgeoisie, which, out of self-interest, cares for a decent and cleanly external appearance and can care for it. True, these shops bear some relation to the districts which lie behind them, and are more elegant in the commercial and residential quarters than when they hide grimy working-men's dwellings; but they suffice to conceal from the eyes of the wealthy men and women of strong stomachs and weak nerves the misery and grime which form the complement of their wealth.' (2006, pp. 389-390).

The aforementioned misery of violence is the result of a spatial arrangement. In this arrangement, which designs the city almost as a *dual city*, the borders drawn also create the "self" and the "other." In matters of war, it is more possible to see it in the readings and discussions of the *18th Brumaire* and the militarism Engels undertook in collaboration with Marx. The urban centers of the 19th century were synonymous with death, pollution, suffering, and blood, making them unfit for a certain social class. Joyce describes 19th-century urban areas like this:

> This city ran with blood. Smithfield animal market was at its bloody heart: within one year [in the middle of the nineteenth century] well over a million sheep and a quarter of a million other beasts went there on their way to be slaughtered throughout the city [...] The dead were also buried in the centre of the city. The middle of London was likened to a charnel house, the dead piled high upon one another, and constantly present to the living, in the most disturbing forms [...] What happened in the course of the nineteenth century was that *death, and the corrupt and decaying bodies of the dead*, and this goes for the human as well as the animal dead, were finally rendered invisible and anonymous (2002, p. 107).

The nineteenth-century city image is the "death, and the corrupt and decaying bodies of the dead." This is, for Marx and Engels, the artefact of the system of capitalism at the dawn time. Under this system, farmland is transformed into real estate and human

beings are ground to dust by urban centers. The city presents as a pristine and secure location for the upper class, while for the working class, it is a dangerous and unsanitary wasteland.

Among the founding figures of social theory, Max Weber was the only one who directly worked on urban affairs. In his book, *The City*, with a historical approach, Weber examines how the city emerged in different conditions, developed progressively by power mechanisms, and finally became the dominant form of society. The fundamental anchors of the book stand on the concepts of democracy, participation, and representation. In fact, the city was not in the direct interest of Weber: he was not specifically interested in the city of his century. Instead, he worked on the ideal type of city: the city in the medieval time when the city gained a certain degree of autonomy.

For a Weberian approach to the urban issue, mainly the city, the state itself becomes the domain of power. The state, in this approach, is the assembly area of the organized interest with the monopolization of organized interests and legitimate violence. In his words, "a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (1919, p. 4). Territory, as is well-known, is one of the key qualities of a nation-state that defines its boundaries. Yet at the same time, this trait is based on economic principles and fits into the Occident's system of rational thought. Karl Jaspers is one of the theoreticians who describe traits with reference to Germany. Jaspers describes the situation of Germany in the two World Wars in terms of the state and its emergence in the Occident in Weberian logic:

> Since 1919 reasoned German policy can find the national self-interest only in unconditional participation in the defense of Occidental political freedom. When German unreason deviated from this path, it brought about a catastrophe for Germany and the world (as cited in Roth, 1984, p. 500).

In fact, Weber was not directly concerned with the city and its conceptual debates. The ideal type, one of the most important tools of understanding in his methodological approach, was also decisive in his conceptualization of the city. In that sense, "[w]e are not offered a precise definition of the city at the outset of the essay, because the object of analysis, the modern Western city, can be characterised only gradually, historically, and partly through a process of elimination" (Ringer, 1994, pp. 12-3).

Weber's first ideal type conceptualizations of the city were *Occidental City* and *Oriental City*. The oriental city is identical to the village in terms of law, constitution, and substance. The most crucial aspect of the structure and operation of the Oriental city is the home of the monarch or any administrative body, which serves as the center for the entire community. Due to the Oriental city's constitutional and legal equivalence with the rest of the nation, neither heteronomy nor heterocephaly occurs there. In a sense, the Occidental is politically the opposite of *autonomy*. Merchants and artisans of the Oriental city are dependent on the ruler's political system and the system of kinship ties and, in that sense, cannot act as an agent. Like the political power of the ruler, its military power supersedes the city itself. The fundamental structure in the Orient is based on the one omnipotent monarch as a god-like force. In the Orient, where non-pluralistic and non-democratic behavioral tendencies prevailed, there were no favorable conditions for the emergence and flourishing of the bourgeoisie (Murvar, 1966, pp. 384-7).

According to Weber's dichotomic understanding of urban behavior, the Occidental city was stereotyped by "a unique degree of fraternization and universalization stemming from the three main axes of Western development -the Greek, the Roman, and the Jewish-Christian" (Nelson, 1976, p. 120). Athens and Rome were the first cities developed as political entities apart from their hinterlands. Cities developed their own unique behaviors, completing with their own set of rules and organizations. A class of politically engaged citizens emerged due to associating certain rights and responsibilities with property ownership inside the city boundaries. Weber, who was most interested in urbanism as a context for modern capitalism's emergence, placed extra emphasis on the Middle Ages' urban growth in the northern part of Europe, especially inland cities (Ringer, 1994, p. 15). Murvar pinpoints the change in the universal patterns of urban life in 11th-century Europe: A new autonomous socio-politico-economic organization called the community or sodality of *burghers* (1966, p. 383). When compared to Oriental urban behavior, "the citizens, as urban dwellers, owed no allegiance to any clan, caste or village association" (as cited in Murvar, 1966, pp. 385-6). This economic-political fraternity of burghers might be understood as the source of the militaristic tone of the modern state.

> Military power of the Western city, and with it a considerable degree of political power since there was an enormous number of interdependent cities of various sizes

> with similar political and defense needs, was in the hands of a religiously inspired brotherhood of burghers, sodality, *Eidgenossen- schaft, coniuratio*, or *utniversitas civium*. […] Every citizen, as a member of this sodality, was obligated not only to serve personally, but also to equip himself with military hardware from his own pocket (Murvar, 1966, pp. 386-7).

Weber's emphasis on the militaristic roots of the modern state is critical in revealing the political power of the city and its religious character. In the next section, I will discuss the theoretical debates of Georg Simmel and Walter Benjamin, who focus on the attitudes of the urban dweller rather than the conceptual demarcation of the city.

3.1.2. Simmel and Benjamin -Metropolis and Urban Experience

In this subsection, the main issue will be invasion and border issues. Individuals create their own symbiosis, draw their boundaries, and prepare their own existential grounds. As we have broadly outlined above, Weber sought to develop an ideal model that would allow for the measurement of a city independent of time. On the other hand, Georg Simmel focused on the behavior and attitude changes of individuals who experienced urban life rather than attempting to define a city. In this sense, city life sets exceedable boundaries by creating certain patterns of thought and behavior in terms of the individual's everyday attitudes. As I redirect my attention towards a realm that is characterized by a symbolic zone, it is worth noting that Simmel is among scholars who are actively engaged in the exploration of this particular border issue: an individual

> is likewise the bordering creature who has no border. The enclosure of his or her domestic being by the door means, to be sure, that they have separated out a piece from the uninterrupted unity of natural being. But just as the formless limitation takes on a shape, its limitedness finds its significance and dignity only in that which the mobility of the door illustrates: in the possibility at any moment of stepping out of this limitation into freedom (Simmel, 1997, p. 69).

In this sense, while space (e.g., the door restricting the individual's movements) creates differentiated rhythms, the urbanites also transcend this restrictiveness and boundaries of space. The point to be emphasized here is that Simmel does not take action on urban life in the form of taking it to a rigid moral extreme. In other words, although urban life, with its spatial transformation, causes specific behavioral patterns among individuals, on the other hand, with this diversity and psychological transformation, a space of freedom is also opened. Simmel describes this new form of life as such:

> Man is a differentiating creature. His mind is stimulated by the difference between a momentary impression and the one which preceded it. Lasting impressions, […] which take a regular and habitual course and show regular and habitual contrasts-all these use up […] less consciousness than does the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions. These are the *psychological conditions which the metropolis creates*. With each crossing of the street, with the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational, and social life, the city sets up a deep contrast with small town and rural life with reference to the sensory foundations of psychic life (1950b, p. 410).

Simmel based this differentiation in space and its excessive stimulation in *The Philosophy of Money* (2011) on the transaction processes that create urban society. Simmel offers other methods for reestablishing social ties in space by including the money economy in this relationship between space and social interactions.

> The metropolis has always been the seat of the money economy. […] Money is concerned only with what is common to all: it asks for the exchange value, it reduces all quality and individuality to the question: How much? All intimate emotional relations between persons are founded in their individuality, whereas in rational relations man is reckoned with like a number, like an element which is in itself indifferent (Simmel, 1950b, p. 411).

In this sense, for Simmel, war is a phenomenon that should be handled on the basis of power and economic interests. But it also has an ideological side as it imposes new behavioral patterns on individuals, just like in urban life. It was able to overcome barriers of class interest and individual advancement. In this sense, war itself can be a unifying force, especially for large groups such as nations. According to Simmel, "[a] lost war can ruin a small city-state, but regenerate a large state" (Simmel, 1950a, p. 92). Watier comments on this as follows:

> It may be difficult to understand, but the foreign enemy was once the catalyst that enabled the German economy to realize itself as a unity for the first time, and now it is the means by which a unity is being achieved on, let us say, the spiritual plane (1991, p. 227).

A further point for consideration is the question of how this understanding of the modern city has been associated with the issue of violence and catastrophe. One of the leading figures of the discipline has been built on the works of Walter Benjamin. His well-known and mainly discussed concept of *flaneur* has an affinity with the concept of the *stranger* of Simmel. Commercialized urban spaces and the new phase of the modern urban theory paved the way for new urban spatialities like arcades in Paris and a new social type called flaneur. Flaneur is "the bourgeois city stroller and spectator—and [the emergence of new urban spaces gave rise] to new genres of writing, including

journalism and detective fiction, reveals an intricate connection between the production of space and the formation of identity and subjectivity" (Zhou, 2016, p. 14)

> Drawing on Simmel's (1950) sociological concept of "the Stranger" as an outsider who settles in the European city "as an insider who nonetheless maintains an outside status because of their [sic] difference," Shields considers "the Stranger" "a counterpart" to the flâneur, an "urban native," who "personifies the ideal-type of the citizen". The encounters between "the Stranger" and the "urban native" are unsettling to both "foreigners" and citizens. As Shields contends: "The metropolis is a space in which both outsiders and insiders are 'dis-placed.' Neither are properly at home in the commodified spaces of the imperial metropolis". In this case, Otherness is not comfortably reduced to spectacles by the flâneur's gaze. Rather than being "domesticated," the presence of the "outsiders" in the European metropolis disturbs the established social relations and homogeneous cultural and national identities. But social change required by the presence of the "outsiders," Shields notes, "is elided in the escape" of the flâneur "into the fantasy world of the emporium" (Zhou, 2014, p. 15).

For Benjamin, history is the history of violence and catastrophe. As a result of this perspective, historical time is "liberated from the chronological way of understanding and provides it with a new perspective of historical materialism" (Binboğa, 2013, p. 8) based not on progress but on actualization. There must be ruptures in history, like the revolutionary moments of *catharsis* of Gramsci. For our analysis, these rupture and interval moments could be read as the deconstruction points in modern urban theory. Benjamin also covers this rupture issue with the figure of the *flash moments* "where the dialectical images appear do not refer to a mythical understanding of time within an 'eternal recurrence,' on the contrary, they refer to the moments of shifts and discontinuities" (Binboğa, 2013, p. 13).

For Benjamin, the city is, on the one hand, the site of the new, which the flaneur watches with curiosity, and on the other hand, it expresses the utilization of the wreckage of the past in the present. Gilloch puts it this way: "The ruins of classical civilization are mentioned only in regard to their utility in the present: namely, the swindles perpetrated on hapless tourists who come to visit them (1996, p. 24). In this sense, the city rises on the debris of the old, and within the system, this debris constitutes an exchange value. Using Gilloch's words,

> The ruins have a very different significance for the tourist and the local inhabitant. Whereas for the former they are an object of contemplation, for the latter they have an immediate, practical utility as a source of income. […] Depending on prevailing interests, the present enters into distinctive relationships and forms particular configurations with objects from the past. The old is refunctioned in the context of the present (1996, p. 32).

On the one hand, the city is chaos where the flaneur gets lost in its streets and passages; on the other hand, it is a place of decay and violence; and finally, it emerges as a performance space that continues in its own rhythm. In short, for Benjamin, city is shown as a maze, a ruin, and a scene of an impromptu theater (theatre). In the next section, I will talk about an urban school that tries to understand this chaotic structure within an order.

3.1.3. Chicago School -The First Urbanists

Chicago School of urban sociology was founded in Chicago, a migration-receiving city in the USA, in the early 20th century and advanced between the world wars. From the ecological perspective of Chicago School, a city has its own culture and patterns of growth. A comprehensive theory of urban, according to this perspective, has a symbiotic relationship with human ecology. As we discussed in Simmel's section, Chicago School scholars were aware of the excessive stimulation of city life. Researchers have looked for patterns in this complexity in an effort to make the city and the turmoil it generates more manageable.

There could be talked about the two fundamental effects of two different schools of thought in the ecological perspective of Chicago School: the effects of Emile Durkheim and Charles Darwin (Saunders, 1986). For the former, the emphasis is on human nature and the relationship between the individual and society. Tönnies' well-known distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* was, in a sense, read in the opposite way by Durkheim, who argued that in the modern world, the mechanical solidarity of the old was replaced by the organic forms of the new. In other words, while Durkheim accepts this distinction, both theoreticians point to different possibilities for the new social relations it brings about. Chicago School researchers interpreted Durkheim's transformation from community to society as transitioning from the biotic to the cultural level. The Chicago School, also called human ecology, attempted to address the unconscious and asocial aspects of the community together with the complex structure of society.

The Darwinian side of the human ecology perspective, on the other hand, focuses on the competition for the basic resources of life, which could be extended to the

organization of the division of labor in human society. Darwinian thinking roughly envisions a world in perpetual motion where the weak cannot survive. Competition for basic resources leads to a vital differentiation between those who have access to these resources and those who do not. According to the Darwinian acquisition here, human societies and their institutions undergo similar processes. In other words, the theoretical framework proposed by Darwin for living organisms has been adapted to the city by Chicago School researchers. In this sense, a war for survival manifests itself among those who want to utilize the city's resources, especially among those who migrated to the city after the industrialization of society and its inhabitants. Just as Darwinian theory suggests, this battle lasts until equilibrium is achieved - that is until a new web of life is created and symbiosis ties are established. This means those most adapted to the new conditions will find a place in urban life.

Robert Park, one of the most prominent members of this *ecole*, views the city as a social laboratory from a strict positivist viewpoint. In an effort to construct a program for defining a city, Park highlights the importance of the physical organization, occupations, and culture of a city (Park, 1984, p. 3). In this way, the city, as envisioned by Park, is a cultural institution with a firm foundation in biology. To quote him, "[t]he city is, finally, the natural habitat of civilized man" (Park, 1984, p. 2). The cultural part of the issue is about non-blood related associations/solidarities (e.g., neighborhoods) that emerge due to the Durkheimian concept of "division of labor" in cities. The biotic level, which Park particularly emphasizes, refers to species' struggle for survival in an area with scarce resources. Although Park ignores the economic background and envisions an ideal type of industrial society free of ethnicity, race, age, gender, and class, he still finds a place in urban sociology with his idea of evolutionary competition. Like Park, the other Chicago School scholar I will discuss, Louis Wirth has made some insightful points about the city that are still relevant today. Wirth's contribution to the literature on urbicide will also be addressed in this section.

Louis Wirth's *Urbanism as A Way of Life* (1938) was an effort to distinguish urban and rural ways of life by pointing out the idiosyncratic social interactions in urban settlements. When seen through this lens, the city is more than a collection of buildings and physicality. It indicates a mode of existence that depends on size, density, and heterogeneity. Size demonstrates the impact of numerical aspects on social interactions in this positivist, Simmel-influenced approach to urban planning. A

necessary inference from this comprehension is that "larger size means greater variation, and then draws upon the ecological tradition to suggest that this, in turn, will be reflected in the spatial segregation of different groups according to ethnicity, race, status, occupation and so on" (Saunders, 1986, p. 65). Obviously, as cities expand to accommodate a larger population, urbanites will be forced to interact with a larger pool of strangers. As a result of these outsiders' increased stimulation, the city has become a focal point for specialization and estrangement. Wirth (1938) has placed much emphasis on heterogeneity. He argues that diversity is essential to understanding urbanity. In his words,

> […] Heterogeneity tends to break down rigid social structures and to produce mobility, instability, and insecurity, and the affiliation of the individuals with a variety of intersecting and tangential social groups with a high rate of membership turnover. The pecuniary nexus tends to displace personal relations, and institutions tend to cater to mass rather than individual requirements. The individual thus becomes effective only as he acts through organized groups (1938, p. 1)

This idea, which serves as the foundation for Martin Coward's definition of urbicide (2004, p. 166), will be discussed in the following pages. As Coward (2004) will mention, factors such as war and destruction attack this heterogeneous city structure. Heterogeneity can create insecurity, instability, and unpredictable mobility for power. Therefore, according to this perspective, in a time of war, this city structure should be targeted. So, according to Coward, the loss of heterogeneity in Wirth's concept parallels the destruction of the urban fabric. According to Wirth, the city's heterogeneity precludes the inclusion of processes not rooted in the city itself, including large systems like the economic structure. This variability, which Wirth omits on purpose, has been attempted to be comprehended by Manuel Castells, whom I shall analyze in the next part by examining its economic basis.

3.1.4. Castells -Urban with Social Movements

The unequal development dynamics of capitalism, which is one of the basic principles of the Marxist approach, also manifests itself at the spatial level. This leads to the formation of urban debris and related social inequalities. Castells discusses the part of these inequalities related to consumption processes. At this point, according to Castells, significant inequalities are created not only in terms of the built environment

but also in terms of the services provided. The city, which is the only place where collective consumption is organized, sheds light on local governments in terms of being an independent part of the state apparatus. According to him, the autonomy and independence that is likely to emerge here are realized through the political struggles of the urbanites who are the addressees of consumption. This is where urban social movements come into play.

With the impact of 1968, the political interpretation of daily life has been a hot issue in the social sciences. These grass-roots community efforts have greatly aided the equitable distribution of social resources. Castells highlights the subjectification processes of urban residents in his analysis by emphasizing the notion of active citizenship in the decision-making mechanisms of these movements. An urban social movement is characterized by Castells as "a concerted attempt of urban groups to further or secure a common interest either in the ecological, cultural or political sphere through *collective action outside the sphere of established institutions*" (Hasson, 1993, p. 1). Understanding the collective mobility that occurs outside institutionalization in the new rhythm that emerges with devastation in times of conflict requires a focus on collective activity beyond the purview of established institutions. Castells' focus on non-institutionalism will serve as a theoretical backdrop for our investigation into the politicization of daily life in the conflict zones.

In theoretical terms, Castells' oeuvre can be divided into two distinct periods. In the context of the early period of Castells with *The Urban Question*, the actor/subject definition corresponds to a position defined in the structural determinism of the capitalist mode of production. Within the scope of his Althusserian background, the actor defined in this framework is the urban social movements or abstract working class with its indirect organization unit. Even if the contradiction of capitalist production relations emerges in the form of urban social movements, it eventually results in a class struggle. Here, Castells examines the centrality of cities in the age of late capitalism, an economic system characterized by a shift in emphasis from production to consumption.

In his later academic production, especially with *City and Grassroots*, Castells, contrary to his former structural-Marxist position, emphasizes the determining role of the actors (city-dwellers, consumers) in the context of urban social change in the social

organization of the 20th century. He differentiates urban social movements from political-revolutionary movements by emphasizing the transformational nature of the former. In order to prevent urban social demands from being absorbed by political movements, he says, urban social movements should make them apparent.

In my research, I have zeroed in on a topic that was highlighted by Castells in his early works: the eradication or annihilation of the means of consuming. Class positionings solidify in their destruction, just as they do in the creation and distribution of these services, and this, in turn, transforms into a class conflict. The distinct beat that destruction introduces into urbanites' daily lives may be understood by considering Castells' subsequent focus on city residents as consumers of the city. In the next section, I will talk about Lefebvre, a prominent thinker whose work is notable for emphasizing rhythm in daily life.

3.1.5. Lefebvrian Turn

Lefebvre's social analysis identifies a series of dynamic societal metamorphoses, which he aptly terms the "Urban problematic," whose genesis can be traced back to the epoch of industrialization. In this context, industrialization emerges as a catalytic force that assumes a pivotal role in the genesis of modern society by engendering a palpable social discontinuity. Lefebvre's elucidation of this rupture is articulated through his conceptualization of the *inductor* and the *induced*, with urban reality and the novel forms of existence it ushers forth falling within the ambit of the induced. Lefebvre's discourse traverses diverse historical epochs, specifically oriental, antique, and medieval urban configurations, as he expounds upon the transformative impact of production processes on these spatial arrangements. Within this analytical framework, Lefebvre contends that the oriental city, characterized by the dominance of the Asiatic mode of production, and the antique city, underpinned by an economy predicated on slavery, exhibit a greater propensity toward a political character in comparison to the medieval city. It is through the channels of commerce, craftsmanship, and banking—foundational pillars of the medieval urban landscape—that class distinctions shed their nomadic attributes, and the city assumes its centrality within the societal fabric. Lefebvre relates this to the rise of the industry as he explains:

> The outcome is that 'society' as a whole, made up of the city, the country and the institutions which regulate their relations, tend to constitute themselves as a network of cities, with a certain division of labour (technically, socially, politically) between cities linked together by road, river and seaways and by commercial and banking relations (1996, p. 67).

The inherent centrality of the city bestows upon urban life a terrain replete with divergences and conflicts, replete with prospects and unforeseen occurrences. The endeavors of Baron Haussmann, in his transformation of the urban landscape, were directed toward the subversion of nascent urban democratic impulses. His strategy involved the deliberate expulsion of opposing social strata from the urban core, a maneuver necessitated by the perceived threat it posed to the ascending bourgeoisie. To quote Lefebvre (1996):

> Haussmann replaces winding but lively streets by long avenues, sordid but animated 'quarriers' by bourgeois ones. If he forces through boulevards and plans open spaces, it is not for the beauty of views. It is to 'comb Paris with machine guns' (p. 76).

Later, Merrifield, one of the critical scholars working on Lefebvre, speaks of a Neo-Haussmannization, saying that the situation in 19th-century Paris today has become globalized. This approach develops a violent "politics of space via a para-militarization from above," which is especially evident when placed in the context of high-tech battles in contemporary surveillance cultures. This emphasis of Lefebvre's is extended and adapted to today's urban drama by Merrifield. What Merrifield says

> The drama of neo-Haussmannization unfolds as a veritable urban civil war, expressing itself on both sides of the urban divide, in powerful centers as well as in marginalized peripheries, in the "global North" as well as the "global South," inside the outside as well as outside the inside; it is a war of walls and ramparts, of bankers and banlieues (2014, p. xiii).

In surveillance societies where walls and ramparts are in conflict, social and political needs impose themselves alongside basic needs. Lefebvre points to this urban democracy, which is trying to be eliminated, as a form of life, based on social needs. He notes the anthropological roots of these social needs and how they connect to a fundamental point regarding existence.

For Lefebvre, these roots, discussed in the Need-Desire dialectic, need space. In fact, Lefebvre explores space in Production of Space via the lens of violence, need, and desire, alluding to Girard's work along the way. Like the Marxist account of fetishization, he thinks that space is appropriated by visible objects and invisible human desires. To quote him:

> Space is thus populated by visible crowds of objects and invisible crowds of needs. What Girard says of 'objects' and 'subjects' applies equally well to most spaces: consecrated by violence, they derive their prestige from sacrifice or murder, war or terror. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 394).

Needs are understood in a recurring cycle of consumption. Needs, which end with the consumption of the object, are recreated with a new object as a survival effect. According to Lefebvre,

> Each need finds satisfaction in its object, in the consumption of that object, yet such satisfaction eliminates the need only temporarily, for a need is repetitive in character and after being satisfied will arise again and again, stronger and more urgent, until at last it reaches a saturation point or is extinguished (1991, pp. 393-4).

Desire, on the other hand, is considered a search independent of the object. In this sense, according to Lefebvre, desire precedes needs and extends beyond any object. Desire exists without a need, without an object. Satisfaction is the moment without Desire. At this point, Lefebvre correctly frames desire as "a desire for desire and for intentionality" and states that "The problem here, however, is that desire, though originally undifferentiated - i.e., objectless, seeking an object and finding it, generally as a result of stimulation, in the surrounding space - is also determined as available (explosive) energy" (1991, p. 394).

Lefebvre's philosophical conclusions here are not an intellectual endeavor that can be considered pure philosophy. Rather than a philosophical approach based purely on concepts, his conceptualization of Desire corresponds to a humanist Marxism that he calls *metaphilosophy*. As Merrifield aptly observes, Lefebvre's philosophical approach, which is not above philosophy and thought, is a unified practice, an adaptation of Marx's *11th Theses on Feuerbach*. In making this description, Merrifield refers to the discussions on *politics*, *polis*, and *democracy* in the philosophy of that period by referring to the ancient Greek philosophers (2014, pp. 2-3). Together, urbanism and political theory acquire more profound significance. Therefore, as mentioned by Merrifield (2014, p. 3), the first philosophers were also the first urban planners, the first agora designers, and the first urban politicians. When we examine Lefebvre's urban philosophy, we discover that this is not only an attempt at conceptualization but rather an all-encompassing quest for the truth. This holistic and conflicted understanding is expressed by Kardeş as follows:

> However, instead of presenting an urban/city philosophy, as is commonly understood, Lefebvre develops a style that emphasizes the historicity of the city and

> its role in history. He presents an idea that traces the structuring of all property relations and the division of labor in the city. Lefebvre's concern, then, is not the purist idea that guides architects and tries to universalize an urban perspective; on the contrary, it is to deal with the city and the urban-thing outside of certain analytical schemes, with a holistic and conflicted understanding[39] (2021, p. 56).

As elucidated by Kardeş, Henri Lefebvre's urban theory is fundamentally underpinned by the intricate interplay of property relations and the social division of labor. In his endeavor to comprehend the production of space, Lefebvre draws upon the discourses of production, circulation, and the cyclical dynamics expounded upon in the first and second volumes of Marx's seminal work, *Capital*. However, the conspicuous absence of a direct conceptual exploration of the built environment within Marx's corpus (1986) necessitates recourse to the *Grundrisse*, where Marx's discourse extends to matters pertaining to land and spatial considerations. This pivotal engagement with the Grundrisse is instrumental in furnishing Lefebvre with the requisite analytical framework for unraveling the complexities inherent in the production of space. Parallel to Lefebvre's scholarship, David Harvey similarly underscores the significance of the second cycle in the generation of surplus value, a perspective cogently articulated by Gottdiener in his work, "Beyond Marxian Political Economy" (1994). This shared emphasis on the second cycle rekindles the discourse on capital accumulation, engendering a renewed interrogation of its ramifications within the urban milieu. In light of these theoretical foundations, it becomes germane to inquire into the implications of urban destruction within the context of the second cycle. This prompts a salient interrogation: What interpretive lenses and analytical pathways does such an engagement with urban destruction in the second cycle afford us?

3.1.6. Political Economy of Urban -Neo-Marxist Stance in Urban Theory

To unravel the intricate relationship between warfare and urban environments, a thorough exploration of the political-economic dimensions of this connection assumes paramount importance. This nexus manifests through a spectrum of economic facets,

---

[39] Original text: "Ancak Lefebvre burada yaygın anlamda anlaşıldığı üzere bir kent felsefesi/ şehir felsefesi sunmak yerine kentin tarihselliğine ve tarihte rolüne vurgu yapan bir tarz geliştirmektedir. Tüm mülkiyet ilişkilerinin ve işbölümünün kentte yapılanmasını izleyen bir düşünceyi sunmaktadır. O halde Lefebvre'in kaygısı mimarlara yol gösteren, kentsel bir perspektifi evrensel kılmaya çalışan safçı düşünce değildir; aksine kenti ve kentsel-olanı belirli analitik planlar dışında, bütünlüklü ve çatışmalı bir kavrayışla ele almaktır."

ranging from the substantial financial investments required for warfare to the economic repercussions stemming from destruction, and even extending to the gentrification initiatives associated with what are often labeled as embellishment projects. Indeed, at its core, war emerges as an economic enterprise, with its profound implications resonating through various epochs of human society.

The utilization of warfare as an instrument of economic policy is a longstanding practice that can be traced back to the earliest foundations of human civilization. Whether employed to acquire new territories and wealth or to assert the perception of imminent threats, war has consistently functioned as a mechanism intricately interwoven with economic imperatives. Addressing fundamental inquiries such as "why cities and urban spaces are frequently targeted" and "what underlies the motives for warfare" necessitates a comprehensive exploration of the urban milieu's economic underpinnings. Within this scholarly pursuit, neo-Marxist urbanists have made notable and substantial contributions, substantially enriching our comprehension of the nature of urbanity and the systemic forces that shape it. Noteworthy among these scholars are luminaries such as David Harvey and Neil Smith. Their scholarly oeuvre has provided invaluable insights into conceptualizing the urban landscape and the economic machinery that propels it forward.

According to Neo-Marxist analysts, there is a general problem with the urban social science, which is accused of "explain[ing] urban phenomena only partially, failing to identify fundamental causes" (Jaret, 1983, p. 499). For them, urban problems cannot be taken separately from the social relations of capitalist production and as isolated phenomena. The urban is the place, in its primary sense, where "capitalists construct an efficient urban environment for production and distribution of goods and services, profitable investments, and for continuous reproduction of a disunited but reliable workforce" (1983, p. 500). The urban system, in this understanding, is an economic site "locale for the reproduction of the labor force, a market for the circulation of commodities and realization of profit and a control for these complex relationships" (1983, p. 505).

Urban is an economic site related to the spatiality of capital accumulation, commodity production, circulation, exchange, and consumption. According to Harvey, "Capitalism produces a distinctive historical geography" (Harvey, 1989, p. 3). Harvey

argues that the "capitalist urban system is a physical infrastructure for commodity production, circulation, exchange, and consumption and as a resource system for the reproduction of labor power" (Jaret, 1983, p. 505). As Walton indicated, Harvey sees the city as a "physical network of factories, stores, offices, schools and roads," all of which "hitched to the primary function of accumulating capital" (1993, p. 308). Stated differently, it is inconceivable to conceive of an urban process within the framework of capitalism as divorced from the imperatives of capital accumulation and the concomitant dynamics of commodity circulation. This intertwined relationship underscores the system's capacity to engender the requisite spatial arrangements essential for its perpetuation and sustainability.

The concept of *creative destruction* is a pivotal theoretical underpinning in analyzing urban ruination. It serves as a significant reference point when examining instances of urban decay and transformation. The phenomenon finds its roots in the realm of urban renewal initiatives and the burgeoning real estate sector, both of which are inextricably linked to the rentier economy. In the realm of political economy, these factors provide salient explanations for the processes governing urban deterioration. In the perspective articulated by Harvey, creative destruction encompasses the following:

> not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers (such as the supposed prior state sovereignty over political-economic affairs) but also of divisions of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, technological mixes, ways of life, attachments to the land, habits of the heart, ways of thought, and so on (2006, pp. 145-6).

It is not related to a marginalization of the other or the war factor, which results in the definition of the enemy. The thing that is taken into consideration is the capital circuit and the crises that resulted from it. The capital, which has learned to use the urban as land that brings profit, destroys the urban space for a higher benefit. However, this political-economic context is either not present or is only present in a very roundabout manner in the urbicide. The urbicide viewpoint does not dismiss the political economics of warfare, but neither real estate profits nor rentier economies are the primary concern.

There is a line of thought in the urbicide literature that views severe occurrences of gentrification and displacement as a sort of urbicide since they cannot be disentangled from the system's spatiality. The major motive of the existing system is the "preference for-profit or a sound financial investment" (Smith, 1979, p. 540). To put

it another way, capital will not hesitate to establish its own spatiality, whether via war or gentrification, as long as doing so is lucrative and causes little disruption to the economy. Sur neighborhoods in Diyarbakır, Şırnak, and Mardin could be thought of as an example of this relationship of war with the spatiality of the system. As can also be taken from the examples of the *shock doctrine* of *disaster capitalism,* which is articulated by Naomi Klein, it will be lacking if the destructions of these urban settlements are discussed without any reference to the economic background. The relation between destruction and the post-destruction period cannot be understood without seeing the desire for disaster capitalism. Klein provides crucial insight into this relationship as such:

> Disaster capitalists have no interest in repairing what was. In Iraq, Sri Lanka and New Orleans, the process deceptively called "reconstruction" began with finishing the job of the original disaster by erasing what was left of the public sphere and rooted communities, then quickly moving to replace them with a kind of corporate New Jerusalem —all before the victims of war or natural disaster were able to regroup and stake their claims to what was theirs (2007, p. 8).

In the case of war, the "original disaster" essentially is not the original one when we realize the relationship between war and economy. The war industry is the major indicator of this issue. According to the data of 2023 by SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), "world military expenditure as a share of world gross domestic product (GDP)—the military burden—remained at 2.2 percent[40] because the global economy also grew in 2022. Governments around the world spent an average of 6.2 percent of their budgets on the military, or $282 per person" (SIPRI, 2023). The urban is, in a sense, the concentration of "military, political and economic activities [...] and in so doing draw otherwise disparate social formations into hierarchical and exploitative structural relations at variously extensive spatial scales'" (Graham, 2010, p. 11). With its past and future war is the time for capital. In these conditions, "the hierarchical and exploitative structural relations" could be constructed.

Among the neo-Marxist urban theorists, Neil Smith could be counted as one of the most influential geographers in the field, especially with his works on gentrification in

---

[40] The World military burden was $1676 billion in 2015, representing 2.3 percent of global gross domestic product or $228 per person. Total global expenditure in 2015 was about 1.0 percent higher in real terms than in 2014 (SIPRI, 2016).

New York and Philadelphia. His *rent gap theory* and the claim *revanchist city have* dominated the discipline since the 1990s. Smith attaches importance to the contradictions created by the urban itself and the new type of social relations created by these contradictions. His analysis is class-based. In his text on gentrification and revanchist city (1996), he talks about a new theme which is called *antiurbanism.* He describes what this new theme means as such:

> It runs deep in US public culture […] and the postwar portrayal of the city of jungle and wilderness […] What is new is the extent to which this panoply of "fear and fury" […] has again come to monopolize public media visions of urban life, and the extent to which the revanchist US city is now recognized as an inherently international artifact (Smith, 1996, p. 212).

Smith's emphasis on international artifacts goes hand in hand with his analysis of colonialization and imperialism. In order for the aforementioned relations of production and visions of urban life to come into being, one of the spectacular forms of violence, militarist violence, needs to materialize. What Gregory says about the matter is as follows:

> [Smith] always insisted that the capitalist production of nature, like that of space, was never—could not be—a purely domestic matter, and he emphasised that the modern projects of colonialism and imperialism depended upon often spectacular displays of military violence (2016, p. 3).

This approach, which articulates important conceptual debates such as gentrification, shock doctrine, and military violence, includes an important emphasis on the relationship between modern reason, economic system, and spatial ordering. The following part will examine the figureheads in ecological comprehension of spatial regulation.

3.1.7. Geographical Interposition

In this sub-heading, we wish to pursue an important challenge coming from the geographers: what is geography's place in the discussion of urban? Among many answers to this problem, this study reflects on the works of Élisée Reclus, Yves Lacoste, and Derek Gregory.

Mostly known as the leading figure of radical ecological thought, Reclus impacts both anarchist theory and social geography. He follows the tradition that "has been marked

by humanity's alienation from the natural world and its quest to dominate nature" (Clark & Martin, 2013, p. 16). And the tradition basically claims that by "uncovering the roots of this alienation, looking beyond the project of planetary domination," there becomes a chance "to restore humanity to its rightful place within, rather than above, nature" (Clark & Martin, 2013, p. 16).

In his studies on London, Reclus, like Engels, drew attention to the infrastructural problems caused by the industrial growth of the city and its class implications. In his book on Reclus and Kropotkin, Ferretti (2018) draws attention to the problems brought about by the uncontrolled growth of the city, stating that Reclus almost talks about the definition of a global-world city. Ferretti points to urban conceptualizations such as gentrification, which are the result of urban sociology, especially neoliberal policies.

> Cities were additionally places where class contradictions were most on display and spatialised. Reclus's analyses anticipated some features of the contemporary concept of gentrification: 'In the last 40 years, something like 50,000 workers have been driven out from the City and have accumulated in the periphery. There are poor people no longer in the City, but they are more and more numerous in the suburbs … What a contrast between the look of poor neighbourhoods and that of the sumptuous ones.' In Reclus's description of London, there can also be found a statement of the importance of social investigation into underprivileged areas, as opposed to the banality of a simple description of the most famous monuments, which Reclus considered as symbols of evil, arguing that: 'The Tower of London's history is that of royal crimes' (2018, p. 77).

Anarchist geographers, like Reclus, partly influenced urban sociology by introducing the concept of "scaling" to the field. Reclus acknowledged in his analysis of London that the city could not be considered in isolation and instead recommended comparing it to the hinterlands and the rest of the empire. Thus, it helps us grasp the mechanism through which the microcosm and the macrocosm mutually enrich and enlarge one another's meanings. This philosophical stance is called uroboric by Springer (2016). According to him, the anarchist geography advocated here "is the realization of the macrocosm in the microcosm, the momentary in the infinite, the universe in a speck of dust" (Springer, 2016, p. xiii).

The theoretical engagement of the everyday discussed in this thesis coincides precisely with the expression of the universe in a speck of dust quoted above. Reclus, with his fiction of a world beyond militarism, the commodification of nature, and social destruction, actually extracts possibilities from the wreckage of the society he is in. In expressing this, Reclus pushes away the theory of developmentalism as a total

opposition to the commodification of nature. In a somewhat Benjaminian expression, we can see the traces of the present in the dust of the past and the possibilities of the future in his social geography. Reclus' wisdom on the ruin of modern cities should likewise be widely known. As Toro notes: Reclus "warned of the capacity of humankind for degrading the physical environment on a global scale" (2017, p. 94).

Yves Lacoste is another scholar who argues that geography is a useful tool in the investigation of social reality. He states, "Geography today is very helpful in evaluating geopolitical conflicts, which can be defined as any sort of power struggle over territorial sovereignty" (2014, p. 40). The intersection of geography and politics, in his view, laid the groundwork for the systematic extermination, in accordance with scientific rules, of a culturally varied group of individuals down to the *bare life*. Lacoste's claim that geography is, first and foremost, useful for waging war is not an argument in favor of making the world more war-ready. According to Lacoste, geography functions as a surveillance apparatus and hence becomes a disciplinary instrument in the hands of power holders. While the ruling powers utilize geography as an apparatus of governance, in the scientific world, this political function is masked by its claim to neutrality, impartiality, and references to positive science. This ideological framing of geography is discussed by Lacoste as follows:

> In fact, the main ideological function of school and university geography has been the masking of the practical usefulness of the analysis of space, in particular for the conduct of war and the organization of the state and the practice of power, by means of ambiguous acts. Geographical discourse performs the most effective deceptive function, especially when it appears "useless" because criticism of its "neutral" and "innocent" promises becomes superfluous. (2014, p. 52).

Drawing upon this acute spatial consciousness, Lacoste posits that the overarching objective of warfare resides in establishing a socio-spatial order optimized for efficiency in spatial utilization. He contends that the academic discipline of geography, often denoted by Lacoste as the "geography of professors," operates under a veneer that obscures the inherent political dimension inherent to matters intertwined with space. Concurrently, it overtly propagates the notion that the boundaries of geographical inquiry are confined to rote memorization, effectively eclipsing the potential for pragmatic and applicable insights stemming from the scientific knowledge engendered within this field. This state of affairs underscores the profound significance of the geographer's political stance, determined by their contemplated

utilization of acquired knowledge and the broader purpose it shall serve. In this vein, Lacoste invokes the words of Reclus to contemplate the role of the geographer, encapsulating the essence of this discourse:

> Élisée Reclus, the great geographer and libertarian thinker, was the first to see that a geographer's job is to teach his/her fellow citizens to better conceptualize "their area" (what we now term "territory") so that they might better live in it and, most importantly, defend it (2014, p. 69).

Derek Gregory, a geographer who shares Lacoste's reflexive perspective on spatial politics, has delved into the research of wars and imaginative geographies in the Middle East context. Gregory's works, influenced by Edward Said's postcolonial theory, focuses on the increased militarization of the planet. Gregory's contributions are prominently highlighted in this thesis, as he is a distinguished geographer who explores the interplay between space and war. Through his analysis of modern-day wars, particularly those that devastate Middle Eastern cities, Gregory draws insightful conclusions about the complex relationships between power, knowledge, and space. His exact words:

> In much the same way that "space" is not only a terrain over which wars are waged—the fixation on territory that remains at the heart of modern geopolitics—but also a medium through which military and paramilitary violence is conducted, so "nature" is more than a resource bank whose riches can trigger armed conflict and finance its depredations: the problematic of resource wars and conflict commodities (cf. Elden 2009, 2013; Le Billon 2012). The spoils of war include the short-term bludgeoning of landscapes and the long-term toxicity of contamination (what Rob Nixon [2011] calls "slow violence"), but it is also important to trace the bio-physical formations—the conditions, provided the term is understood in the most active of senses—that are centrally involved in the militarisation of "nature". For nature too is a medium through which military and paramilitary violence is conducted (2016, p. 4).

In consonance with the insights of Henri Lefebvre, Derek Gregory (2010) engages in a discourse centered on the triadic framework within the context of contemporary warfare, particularly in the context of new wars. Gregory's framework delineates three distinct spatial realms: the abstract space of the target, the alien space inhabited by the enemy Other, and the legal-lethal space defined by its exceptional character. Gregory posits that the unfolding of late modern warfare is marked by three spatial facets that imbue contemporary conflicts with a semblance of rationality. The first of these spatial performances, according to Gregory, pertains to *locating*. Within this performative realm, late modern warfare engages in what Gregory terms as the technocultural production of targets. This practice is inherently characterized by the abstraction of

both place and the human populace inhabiting it. This particular performative practice manifests itself through two distinct modes: *compression* and *contraction*. The former signifies the incorporation of technological advancements facilitating the accelerated targeting process, as delineated by Gregory (2010, p. 173). The latter mode encapsulates technological innovations underpinning the heightened precision of weaponry employed in contemporary warfare. Inverting, as the second spatial performance, corresponds to the cultural and political act of rendering adversaries as *radically Other*. It represents the creation of a space inhabited by "Them," achieved through the systematic negation of "Ours," thereby crystallizing the construction of an alien and adversarial entity. The final spatial performance identified by Gregory encompasses the utilization of "politico-juridical instruments" aimed at exempting specific categories of individuals from both legal responsibilities and protective provisions under the law (Gregory, 2010, p. 177). This practice alludes to the intricate duality characterizing the interplay between law and war, a dynamic that Gregory terms *lawfare*. In this manner, Gregory's triadic framework offers a comprehensive lens through which to comprehend the spatial dimensions and performative practices that underpin the rationalization of contemporary warfare within the context of late modernity.

3.1.8. Post-Modern Urban

Postmodernism and neoliberal discussions have sparked academic interest in the question of the city's reshaping via postmodernism. Some of the most contentious issues in these discussions are the decline of traditional social stratification, the rise of identity politics, and the geographical acquisition by cities of structural traits distinct from classical segregation. Here, Edward W. Soja's special emphasis on the critical reading of space itself and the concept of *third space* in his book called *Postmodern Geographies: Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (1989) is worth to be mentioned. In his work, he describes the period after the 1980s as follows:

> In the 1980s, the hoary traditions of a space-blinkered historicism are being challenged with unprecedented explicitness by convergent calls for a far-reaching spatialization of the critical imagination. A distinctively postmodern and critical human geography is taking shape, brashly reasserting the interpretive significance of space in the historically privileged confines of contemporary critical thought (Soja, 1989, p. 11).

Here, instead of discussing postmodern urbanism's broad assumptions, I shall concentrate on its two primary claims. The first is the new subjectivities that emerge from the modified nature-human interaction often emphasized in postmodern urban ideas. The second concept is the microcosmic focus of postmodern urban ideas. Michael Dear and Steven Flusty's (1998) summary of the first argument relies on the following premise:

> Urbanism is made possible by the exercise of instrumental control over both human and nonhuman ecologies. The very occupation and utilization of space, as well as the production and distribution of commodities, depends upon an anthropocentric reconfiguration of natural processes and their products. As the scope and scale of, and dependency upon, globally integrated consumption increases, institutional action converts complex ecologies into monocultured factors of production by simplifying nature into a global *latifundia*. […] Holsteinization is the process of monoculturing people as consumers so as to facilitate the harvesting of desires, including the decomposition of communities into isolated family units and individuals in order to supplant social networks of mutual support with consumersheds of dependent customers. (p. 60-1).

As this long excerpt suggests, 'globally integrated consumption' and the culture it has created have generated the consumer as a subject. The production of efficient and isolated individuals for the system as a result of the process of holsteinization creates an oxymoron situation based on the relationship between isolated and equally homogenized atomic individuals. In that sense, this transformation in class positioning also manifests itself culturally. Frederic Jameson talks about the post-modern situation as such: "Postmodernism is a periodizing concept whose function is to correlate the emergence of new formal features in culture with the emergence of a new type of social life and a new economic order" (as cited in Smith, 1992, p. 62).

An assertion closely related to the first is at the heart of the second argument. The community of individuals, which is at the macro level identical and atomized in a quantitative sense, becomes differentiated in the microcosmic life of the everyday. As the researcher gets closer to their object, they encounter fluidity, uncertainty, creativity, and differentiation. In this sense, especially with postmodern theory and its urban approaches, various modes of everyday - the street, the home, the neighborhood, the spaces of resistance - have begun to attract intense attention in urban sociology. The postmodern worldview is evident in urban life, particularly in the fields of planning and architecture. Everyday micropolitics has replaced the authoritarian concept based on the public interest in planning movements that also bear the criticism

of the new right. According to this understanding, there is a great contradiction between the structures of societies that create difference and diversity on a micro-scale and the shaping of cities with a long-term perspective around a metanarrative with a modernist mind. Jane Jacobs' (1992) street analysis is a prime case study in this kind of micro-level political analysis. According to Jacobs (1992), even though the organization of space is attempted to be achieved through top-down interventions, it cannot eliminate the contingency of the everyday as it manifests itself on the street.

3.2. Urbicide: Streams, Scales, and Differentiations

With respect to Lefebvre's conceptual framework, the present thesis posits that urban space exerts a discernible influence upon all the aforementioned factors. The presence of ruined cities, the configuration of urban infrastructure, the enduring presence of monuments, and the semiotic significance of other emblematic elements collectively engender disruptions within these contextual dimensions. This disruption is particularly notable in the temporal domain, as time becomes dichotomously demarcated into periods before and after the event, while space itself becomes demarcated by the specter of ruination. Moreover, these symbolic elements actively "interpellate" novel meanings and connotations, thereby further enriching our understanding of the transformative dynamics associated with urban spaces.

These are the questions that the urbicide literature and research on city destruction in general deal with. In order to describe the destruction and violence, scholars use many concepts and terms with multifold connotations. *Collateral damage, place annihilation, spatial violence, warchitecture, ethnic cleansing, cultural cleansing, cultural genocide, identicide, and spaciocide* are the main conceptual tools in the literature. As the derivatives of genocide, the terms used to describe the ruins and rubble in the settlements are predominantly related to the systematic and planned destruction of the cities. Like the formation of the cities, their destruction is also planned. In this section, I will briefly discuss some of these concepts and their relevance to our case.

The first concept, collateral damage, is mainly known as the damage for security reasons as a casualty. This is the discourse of the United States of America (USA) in

the Vietnam War regarding civilian deaths. In a sense, the discourse is the move of the power to legitimize the destruction and killings it made. Abujidi criticizes the term as such:

> If the destruction of the urban environment is more widespread than the typical selected key buildings, and if the devastation covers a wide variety of buildings: housing, public institutions, cultural monuments, utility buildings, open spaces, then the destruction cannot be justified as collateral damage (2014, p. 18).

In a very rough way, in any case, to talk about human death as collateral damage and turning the whole city into rubble on account of security reasons would be words of power. And this is a political choice, no matter which justification is given.

The term, *place annihilation*, was coined by Kenneth Hewitt in order to describe the situation of the cities in World War II. According to him, "war has the intentional aim of disorganizing enemy space" (Abujidi, 2014, p. 19). Similarly, spatial violence is used as a tool of analysis to create an enemy space. Unlike the other, the emphasis in this conceptualization is on the mechanisms of dispossession and enclosure. According to Sánchez and Pita (2021), the processes of dispossession and enclosure are practices of spatial destruction as a result of colonization and privatization. For Abujidi, the annihilation of place, on the other hand, produces placelessness, like in the cities of Tripoli, Stalingrad, Dresden, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki. The concept also includes mass killings and damage to civilians. But the term has been mainly used to describe the Second World War instance and is related to the total war characteristics. The same critique could be made for the terms "cultural cleansing and cultural genocide," which are mainly related to the destruction of cultural heritage as the destruction of heterogeneity and the possibility of living together. Certain buildings and objects have totemic value for society, representing cultural and ethnic identity. The devastation of such buildings has direct effects on the collective memory of those people with a close association with these monumental buildings. The systematic and violent destruction of such objects with monumental values is defined as cultural cleansing.

As another concept to understand the death of the city, we could count the *warchitecture*. It is used firstly in Sarajevo to "name the catastrophic destruction of architecture during the 1992-1996 siege of the city" (Herscher, 2008, p. 35). It mainly makes a distinction between *architecture-as-construction* and *architecture-as-*

destruction and complains about the lack of analysis on the latter. Its main motto is "When architecture is destroyed, [...] its ontological status also tends to be destroyed" (Herscher, 2008, p. 38). Predominantly related to the historical-cultural buildings and architecture, this concept is important to understanding the destruction of cities in war when the historical-cultural buildings and structures were generally and consciously damaged. In fact, the concept sees the target of wartime destruction within three interrelated subjects: city, cultural heritage, and architecture.

The term identity is used to describe the unique environments cultivated by individuals who share a common way of life. People operate upon spaces, shaping their behaviors and attitudes just as they create and build places with meaning. When these identity-based, symbolic entities are destroyed, it is seen as a direct attack upon such identities. This destruction is defined as *identicide* by Meharg in the context of the Palestinian case as such:

> a strategy of armed conflict that deliberately targets and destroys cultural elements through a variety of means in order to contribute to eventual acculturation, removal, and/or total destruction of a particular identity group, including its contested signs, symbols, behaviors, values, heritages, places and performances. Identicide is the intentional killing of the relatedness between people and place that eliminates the bond, which underpins individual, community, and national identity (2011, p. 179).

Treating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a Colonial Project, Hanafi (2005) defines the destruction in Palestine as spaciocide. According to him, this destruction is neither a process of genocide nor is it directed against the urban fabric like urbicide. Hanafi proposes a more holistic approach to this colonial project. Hanafi's work (2005) analyzes spaciocide through six characteristics. For Hanafi, the attributes of spaciocide are composed of 1) being a strategic colonial ideology; 2) the ignorance of demographic development; 3) being justified through humanity; 4) three-dimensional nature; 5) the continuous redrawing of borders; and lastly, the aim of transforming the territory into noncontinuous enclaves (2005, pp. 161-3).

The conceptualizations mentioned above were first used to describe the destruction brought about by the civil war during the dissolution of Yugoslavia. With this new literature, the destruction of cities and urban fabric began to be taken in a different framework. Subsequently, it began to be used as a conceptual tool when trying to understand the conditions of cities in the aftermath of conflicts in the Middle East, particularly the destruction of Palestine by Israel. The movements listed below have

tried to make the concept useful and operationalize it by incorporating the unique situations of the geographies in question into the analysis. This theoretical framework, in which cities are the primary targets, was first addressed in Turkey at the same time as in Europe. Still, due to the growing influence of nationalism in the country's politics, it has been difficult to secure a foothold in the academic community. As I have discussed in the research design chapter, studying the issue in Turkey is seen as an endeavor with various political, social, and academic costs. Before moving on to the next chapter, I would like to present some scholarly studies on the subject in Turkey. The issue of urbicide has not been studied in the context of Turkey in a scholarly manner. Ruşen Keleş (1990) was the first who translated the term urbicide into Turkish in his work called *Kentleşme Politikası*. In Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Bülteni (Bulletin of Chamber of Architects of Turkey Ankara Branch), the issue of 43, there are some translations of the articles of the scholars of the urbicide. Plus, in this issue, Bülent Batuman (2006) discussed the urbicide in terms of war, urban and architecture, which is named "Kentkırım: Savaş, Kent ve Mimarlık." Mithat Arman Karasu in his *Bir Kentin Ölümü: Kentkırım (Bosna-Hersek Örneği)* (2008) and Ulvi Keser in work named as *Manevi Miras Katliamı: Bosna-Hersek'te Kentkırım* (2012) argues the urbicide in terms of Bosnian case with a general description of the term. There are some other attempts to discuss the displacement and destruction in the region, such as Derya Aydın's paper on the gentrification and the destruction research on Sur, named *Sur'da Yıkımın İki Yüzü: Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Abluka* (2016); İclal Ayşe Küçükkırca's work on "Thinking Suriçi Through Home Place" (2018), Şemsa Özar, Nesrin Uçarlar and Osman Aytar's study "Geçmişten Günümüze Türkiye'de Paramiliter Bir Yapılanma: Köy Koruculuğu Sistemi" (2013) which is about the village guard system (*köy koruculuğu*) in the region. There are also some essential attempts for the discussion on the necropolitics in the scale of Turkey, such as Cana Erşen's paper "Nekro-İktidarın İmgeleri" (2016) and Derya Aydın's article "Nekro-Politika, Yerinden Edilen Kemikler ve Direnişe Dönüşen Yas" (2018). Fırat Genç, with his works on the issue of space and its destruction of it, and Zana Kibar, with his documentary on Sur, are the scholars who are specifically working on the region, especially Diyarbakır Sur.

İbrahim Has's work (2022), based on his fieldwork on Diyarbakır Sur, has made a seminal contribution to this thesis. In his critical reading of the Copenhagen School's

securitization theory, Has talks about a social engineering process he calls *glocal security (glosec)* and discusses how this creates a politics of fear. Has (2022) discusses the gentrification of Diyarbakır Sur based on this social engineering through the interweaving of class politics and identity discussions.

Urbicide is a relatively new literature within urban sociology. In the 20th century's history of bloodshed and destruction, urban and regional planners' introduction of the concept in the aftermath of manufactured disasters and in a war zone points to the violence that underlies it. This violence and destruction point to a new situation both historically and in terms of the spatial realms in which it emerges. The direct targeting of urban centers and collective memory, the deliberate destruction of urban infrastructure, and especially the disruption of the rhythm of urban life mark a distinctive moment in human history. In this part of the chapter, I will primarily focus on the main strands of the urbicide literature that developed after 1990. The three main strands I discuss here are based on Abujidi's (2014) excellent summary of the analysis of the urbicide literature.

3.2.1. Three Main Lines in Urbicide Literature

The first main line is the theoretical framework, led by Martin Coward, which treats urbicide as the destruction of heterogeneity as the most fundamental feature of urban life. According to Abujidi, theorists in this group treat urbicide as politics of exclusion, "anti-heterogeneity" (Coward, 2001b, 2004, 2005).

The second main line is the theoretical framework that discusses the destruction of the symbols and collective memory that the city represents. This group of theorists assesses urban regeneration and the targeting of cities for conflict through their historical and symbolic value. Abujidi names this group of theorists in reference to the way they approach the concept: urbicide as "anti-urban, anti-city" violence (Berman, 1987a, 1996; Simmons, 2001; Graham, 2004a; Shaw, 2004; Heathcote, 2005).

The third main line is the intellectual perspective that identifies urbicide with the destruction brought about by war and is ontologically distinct from the others. Abujidi refers to this group taking urbicide as war of (or against) terror (Graham 2003, 2004a; Gregory 2003, 2004). Let us now examine these three main lines in detail.

3.2.1.1. Urbicide as the Destruction of Heterogeneity

The ecological perspective of the Chicago School, one of the precursors of the institutionalization of urban sociology, treats the city as an urban way of life created by a crowded heterogeneous community. Louis Wirth, as I discussed above, emphasizes the heterogeneous nature of the city. The heterogeneity here is explained empirically in terms of the city becoming the center of different human communities for external reasons. In other words, heterogeneity is an assessment that emerged as a result of sociologists' analysis based on empirical data and observation. Coward uses expressions similar to the analysis here in his emphasis on heterogeneity in his conceptual definition. He defines Urbicide as "the destruction of the built environment that comprises the fabric of the urban as well as to the destruction of the way of life specific to such material conditions" (Coward, 2009, p. 38). In the chapter on the logic of urbicide, Coward describes heterogeneity with reference to Louis Wirth (Coward, 2009, p. 39). For him,

> What is at stake in urbicide is thus the *conditions of possibility of heterogeneity*. Urbicide, then, is the destruction of buildings not for what they individually represent (military target, cultural heritage, conceptual metaphor) but as that which is the condition of possibility of heterogeneous existence (Coward, 2009, p. 39).

These conditions of possibility of heterogeneity are, in fact, based on the claim of a shared world of meaning and, therefore, a shared spatiality. The built environment, in this sense, creates a public spatiality that is orientational and acknowledges the presence of the other. Being is imbued with spatiality, and this spatiality also includes an emphasis on orientational heterogeneity.

> […] buildings are constitutive of heterogeneity insofar as they are constitutive of a fundamentally public spatiality. That is to say, buildings constitute a spatiality that is always already shared. As such, this spatiality always already holds the possibility of the existence of an other within it (indeed, publicness implies sharing, which in turn implies an ever-present possibility of alterity). […] This spatiality is thus experienced as always already heterogeneous. The existential quality that pertains to being in the built environment is thus heterogeneity. Urbicide (a coordinated assault on the built environment) represents a coordinated assault on the conditions of possibility of such heterogeneity (Coward, 2009, pp. 54-5).

Although Martin Coward includes this kind of heterogeneity in his definition of urbicide, the conceptual framework he discusses hovers over the borders of existentialist philosophy. Coward takes spatiality in a Heideggerian account. His concept of *Dasein* is primarily spatial in nature. The origin of the concept is literally

"being-there." In Heidegger's (1962) terminology, Being-in-the-world is *Being-there*, which is an oriented way of *Being*. Thus, because Dasein is always already oriented, Being and its spatiality (situated in its essence) create a possibility of heterogeneity. In this sense, Coward (2017) presents the infrastructure as a target and the destruction of its invisible and heterogeneous structure as an attack on Dasein's everyday Being-in-the-world. Therefore, Coward ontologically situates the city's destruction in a different place. For him, this destruction is an attack on the oriented state of being and, therefore, on the homogeneity that the being signifies. In his words,

> The radical loss of the built elements of Dasein's world cannot be understood simply by offering guidelines for the reconstruction of the lost elements. Rather, this loss must, necessarily, lead us to ask the following questions: '1. What is it to dwell?; 2. How does building belong to dwelling?' (Ibid., 347). In other words, the loss of the buildings that comprised the worldliness of Dasein's everyday Being-in-the-world, leads us to ask what it is to live in such a world, and in what way building contributes to the experience of living in that world (Coward, 2009, p. 63).

Coward's approach to modern urban life as a heterogeneous assemblage of beings oriented toward the other discusses the city only in a phenomenological framework. Abujidi challenges Coward's treatment of urbicide solely in terms of this orientational heterogeneity and asks, very pertinently, where do we situate the attacks on homogeneous forms of life in this case? It is important to go one step further with this approach in order to understand urbicide specifically as an assault on the spatiality of identities, even though attacks against a homogenous group and its living space without neglecting the orientational nature of Dasein do not find much place in this approach. In the next section, I will discuss the conceptualization of urbicide, which emphasizes the spatiality of identities and their representational power.

3.2.1.2. Urbicide as the Destruction of Symbols that the City Represents

Compared to the conceptualization of urbicide that we will discuss in this section, the approach pioneered by Martin Coward, which we mentioned in the previous section, is not different regarding its basic proposition, but it is narrower in scope. According to this approach, which categorizes urbicide on the basis of anti-urban and anti-city violence, the underlying reason behind the targeting of modern cities, especially in the 20th century, is the desire to destroy the values represented by urban life by those in power in society.

This approach contends, among other things, that attacks on urban ideals are partly motivated by sentimental hatred for urban life. In contrast to rural life, urbanity involves a cosmopolitan settlement, multiculturalism, and the symbolic meanings assigned to it. One of the most prominent figures of this perspective, Marshall Berman, sees urbicide as a solution to the problem that urbanization has become uncontrollable by the ruling mentality since the advent of modernization. In this sense, it is possible to talk about a peacetime regulation that transcends the moment of war. The demolitions carried out in times of peace under the name of urban development, just as Haussmann (as *artiste demolisseur*) did in 19th century Paris, are the results of surveillance mechanisms, the solution found by the *raison d'etat* to make society controllable. In Abujidi's words,

> The contemporary military urbanism is about spatial engineering and reorganization via complex surveillance and control and in many cases via the lethal devastation of cities. The latest developments in the Arab world, in what is controversially called the Arab Spring, is an explicit example of how cities became the very theater and spaces of oppression and resistance (2014, p. 1).

Just like the forced displacement of large masses of people in New York under the name of urban development in 1970s America, the destruction of the city with modernization is defined by Berman as urbicide and categorized as an urban crime (1996, p. 175). The construction of the World Trade Center, which would be destroyed by a terrorist attack years later, was also treated as a case of urbicide in the 1960s American academic literature by referring to a Haussmann-like destruction (Campbell et al., 2007). According to Huxtable, urbicide is characterized as urban planning projects that destroy the traditional urban fabric by destroying the habitus of low-income groups (Coward, 2007, p. 4). These planning projects, primarily emphasizing capital accumulation and targeting existing urban areas, are standard in Turkey. Under the guidance of HDART (the Housing Development Administration of the Republic of Turkey), Turkey's building industry has grown tremendously, especially in Istanbul. Unplanned urbanization leads to the slumization of the city, which has become a mechanism of urban planning and social control in Turkey. This unhealthy and unplanned urbanization corresponds to the destruction of urban identity, cultural unity and diversity, and the values of the city through the physical structure rather than the plunder of space. Therefore, from this perspective, these large-scale urban projects are considered within the definition of urbicide.

As seen from the theoretical discussion above, this approach covers almost all crimes against the city within the scope of urbicide. As a result of such a broad scope, conceptual inflation emerges. Urbicide is addressed from a wide range of perspectives, from the attack on a statue in the city square to urban transformation projects and armed conflicts in the city center. This makes it very difficult to operationalize the concept. Although urbicide is considered together with genocide in this approach, references to war and conflict are missing in this conceptualization. The association of urbicide with war and military urbanism, which I have argued throughout this thesis, is strikingly addressed by the next stream.

3.2.1.3. Urbicide as the Destruction Caused by Military Urbanism Politics

The Bush administration's Middle Eastern strategy in the *war on terror* was code-named *9/11* following the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center. That was also the code phrase of the Obama administration that followed. In the face of the violent visibility of Islamist extremists (al-Qaeda being the most prominent one for the United States), which manifested itself in terrorist attacks, this code was tried to be legitimized in the name of the war on terror, and cities were also affected as a result of this policy. The first response to these violent demonstrations occurred in Afghanistan, which Semple (2013) describes as "the first theater of war." This kind of political violence took the form of the destruction of cities in particular, and the Middle East turned into a geography of rubble. Stephen Graham (2004a, 2004b, 2002, 2011) used the term "urbicide" to describe the intentional destruction of cities in this region. According to this approach, the ruling mind treats cities as spatial planes that need to be structured. Those in power carry out these configurations through war or large-scale urban planning projects. Abujidi views urbicide in this context as an inevitable byproduct of war, armed conflict, and counterterrorism efforts (2014, p. 32). In other words, the central claim of the last stream on urbicide, where Abujidi has placed herself, is the impossible separation of "war, terror, place annihilation and modern urbanism" (2014, p. 32).

Along with Afghanistan, Iraq was one of the geographies where large-scale urban destruction occurred in the name of the war on terror. Cities such as Baghdad and

Mosul were subjected to massive destruction under the pretext of liberation, accompanied employing mass destruction. The city was attacked to be destroyed along with its inhabitants and all the objects with which it is in a relationship. As seen in the press statement of a senator I quoted below, the extent of the violence inflicted on the city is evident in the means of mass destruction.

> Republican Senator Rick Santorum, reading from a report by the National Ground Intelligence Center, told a press conference on June 22, 2006 that: We have found weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, chemical weapons. Since 2003, coalition forces have recovered approximately 500 weapons munitions, which contain degraded mustard or sarin nerve agent. Despite many efforts to locate and destroy Iraq's pre-Gulf War chemical munitions, filled and unfilled pre-Gulf War chemical munitions are assessed to still exist (Fox News, 2006).

This understanding of urbicide emphasizes rebuilding the city through systematic and widespread violence, notably by destroying urban fabric buildings and symbolic structures. Since the turn of the century, technology has played a crucial part in this devastation. One of the bloodiest instances of the war on terror strategy controlled by systematic and widespread violence is Palestine, which Graham defines as a worldwide laboratory of urban militarism (2011, p. 252). Israel's policies of the systematic destruction of the urban fabric are carried out under the pretext of the war on terror. The destruction of cities with bulldozers, which Graham (2005) strikingly draws attention to, makes it necessary to use the practices of othering and exclusion on the grounds of legitimization. The destruction of cities labeled as "hotbeds of terror" is portrayed as a battle between good and evil. Eyal Weizman's *Hollow Lands* (2007) describe a setting in which the urban experience has become permeable due to the interweaving of violence and a society built on the tenets of security and control. Abujidi (2014) argues that this practice of violence in Palestine involves the systematic destruction of cities and spatial control mechanisms prepared against resistance (p.33).

Although this last approach makes urbicide more applicable to operationalization, the fact that the concept still needs more explicit boundaries points to a theoretically problematic area. There is an important ontological distinction between cities becoming centers for the militarization of society and urban destruction itself becoming a weapon. I will discuss this ontological distinction in detail in the next section.

3.3. Urban Through Destruction and Ruin

Within this logic, cities become 'building sites' where sociomaterial combinations of people, imaginaries about the future, the built environment, but also rules, networks and infrastructures are (re)assembled into complex spaces which emerge as urban reality (DeLanda 2006).

Stanley, 2017, p. 10.

Theoretical concern about the urban's relationship with war, destruction, and ruination has gained popularity in the period of civil wars after the 1990s. Throughout the history of humankind, wars, and destructions have made cities to be constituted or disappeared. Sometimes it caused cities to become garrisons; sometimes, it became an economic motivation itself. However, destruction and war have always been constituent factors in understanding the urban and the city. In 1990s urban literature, scholars began to think about the issue of war and its relation with the city. A new situation stands to be explained after the civil war in Yugoslavia. Urban planners and architects thought this situation should be discussed in a new conceptual framework and with new concepts. The war had a new purpose: mere destroying for the sake of destruction. It attacks memory through representation, which means a kind of new historiography and an attack on identity.

These scholars tried to explain this new way of making war and its relation with the case of urban by using the concept of *urbicide*. In this context, scholars defined the Yugoslavian case to describe the attacks on the representations, urban fabric, and infrastructure of the cities. Soon the concept was exported to Palestine. Here it was used to explain the new situation created by the war with Israel. In fact, the concept of urbicide is relatively new, and its theoretical boundaries need to be clarified. It is mainly dominated by European researchers working on the post-Yugoslavian period and Palestinian and Israeli scholars. Plus, it is newly discussed on the Middle East scale.

To restate what I mentioned at the outset of this chapter, urban theory indicates a range of perspectives and points of view of the domain of urban to form a constructivist understanding of the city with a particular focus on the urban experience. Simon Parker, in his work *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience: Encountering the City*, discusses what makes urban theory distinctive as such:

> Urban theory can, thus, be considered as a subset of social theory, but for all the shared conceptual vocabulary that social theory and urban theory possess, the latter is distinguished by its conviction that social, cultural, economic and political life is different in the city compared to other types of societies, however precarious and endangered the 'non-urban world' may be (2004, p.4).

Parker argues that Max Weber, Georg Simmel, Walter Benjamin, and Henri Lefebvre's perspectives on the urban dilemma are superseded by the foundations of social theory. As I mentioned earlier in this text, the works of these figures, of course, were not the first arguments on urban morphology and urban experience. Still, all the figures Parker dwells upon are the turning points in the theoretical thinking on the urban subject matter. These figures' common feature is that they explored the urban experience to comprehend better and evaluate the world in which they lived. Many of the ways in which these theoreticians have examined the idea of urban or city make it impossible to lump them together under a single topic.

Nonetheless, they all do refer to the aspects of the urban organization through the formation of urban reality, i.e., its *Being,* but not its annihilation or destruction, i.e., its *Non-Being*. Successors to the pioneers in urban studies in the modern age often focus on the formation or presence-based investigation. The kernel of this study is to re-question the conceptualization of urban through destruction, ruination, and war. In other words, the question here is whether we can trace the definition of the urban through non-urban. While conceptualizing urban through non-urban, it falls categorically into the traps of the language itself. Language necessarily takes us to the concept of the city first and then to the concept of non-urban. In other words, language creates the illusion that non-urban derives from urban. However, this is primarily due to the dominance of the German philosophy of Hegelian dialectics that shaped our way of thinking in modern times. Hegel's shadow looms over the history of philosophical thinking that came after him. This significant assertion, combined with his argument for comprehensive science, has been the starting point for many theorists to overcome. As Bubner asserts: "German idealism set out to reconcile the old conception of metaphysics with a newfound certainty of self-consciousness and with the world of objects investigated by the empirical, methodologically organized natural sciences" (1978, p. xii).

Hegel's dominance over philosophy is based on an idea of unity that Marx would later overturn. Order and logic are formed on the basis of this unity/being. The ideas of the

preservation of the past and the end of history refer to continuity and nostalgia rather than transformation and the construction of the new.

> The Germans, on the one hand, seem to have an innate sense of order and logic with the purpose of philosophy being to elucidate formally what is known and lived intuitively and, from time to time, free themselves from it. What matters above all, however, is continuity with the past (Olson, 1984, p. 174).

In contrast to German ideology, the French philosophical tradition rejects a philosophical construction that binds them. This understanding, which Lacan defines as the practice of "suturing from nothingness to being," is like a *negation* of German philosophy centered on being and based on the past. In that sense, as Olson figures out, "especially in politics, the French then seem to be driven by an inexplicable predilection to destroy any and all manner of philosophical construction with a Nietzschean frenzy" (1984, p. 174). In the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel speaks of the challenging side of the beginning:

> It is customary to preface a work with an explanation of the authors aim, why he wrote the book, and the relationship in which he believes it to stand to other earlier or contemporary treatises on the same subject. In the case of a philosophical work, however, such an explanation seems not only superfluous but, in view of the nature of the subject-matter, even inappropriate and misleading. For whatever might appropriately be said about philosophy in a preface -say a historical statement of the main drift and the point of view, the general content and results, a string of random assertions and assurances about truth- none of this can be accepted as the way in which to expound philosophical truth (1977, p. 1).

For Hegel, the challenge of writing a preface to a philosophical work in search of truth is related to the nature of subject-matter. In Hegel's dialectics, the journey of consciousness steps backward. Stepping backward turns the beginning into a disorganized and chaotic process. It is because the beginning is being itself, but since the search for the truth of self-consciousness is treated as a process, it is vital to get a proper understanding of it not from being itself but from the syntheses it develops. According to the French ontology of nothingness, this is not a particularly baffling scenario. To be the first person to pronounce "1" while counting from the right head, that individual must be aware that no one is before them. Thus, their existence in the first row is based on *non-existence*. The French philosophical tradition, then, views dialectics not as the driving force of history but as a mode of thought that emphasizes flux and chance. Ollman puts it best:

> Dialectics is not a rock-ribbed triad of thesis-antithesis-synthesis that serves as an all-purpose explanation; nor does it provide a formula that enables us to prove or

> predict anything; nor is it the motor force of history. The dialectic, as such, explains nothing, proves nothing, predicts nothing, and causes nothing to happen. Rather, dialectics is a way of thinking that brings into focus the full range of changes and interactions that occur in the world (2003, p. 15).

What the French tradition of thought tries to do with this dialectic is to create a theory of possibilities that opens to the new and transformation. The abstraction here is creative abstraction understood through praxis. The way Gerlofs puts it,

> Abstraction, as a process that "has as its object the unknown unknowns of potential futures" (McCormack 2012: 728), can and does play a significant role in shaping present and future realities by not only illustrating but also, more importantly, by creating virtual realities. In Marx's (1967a, 174) likewise infamous statement on the fundamental distinction between the "worst architect" and the "best of bees," such creative abstraction is highly prized. The dialectical imagination is thus a powerful tool not only for speculation on the future but also for the production of the future (Patomäki 2017), as a generative agent constantly populating the realm of the possible and urging select possibilities toward the preferential status of the probable (2023, p. 71).

For the sake of this discussion, the argument I am concentrating on is not a "non-place" in the sense coined by Marc Augé. Augé argues that the postmodern condition of continual flux has altered our conception of place. The "fleeting, the temporal, and the ephemeral" have supplanted the traditional concept of space as connected to soil and settlement in this new world. The transformation of daily life with the developing transportation, information, and surveillance technologies has dulled the sense of space and necessitated a more mobile way of thinking to grasp space. The non-place, the place of the traveler, is discussed by Augé as follows:

> The multiplication of what we may call empirical non-places is characteristic of the contemporary world. Spaces of circulation (freeways, airways), consumption (department stores, supermarkets), and communication (telephones, faxes, television, cable networks) are taking up more room all over the earth today. They are spaces where people coexist or cohabit without living together (1999, p. 110).

Lefebvre's theoretical work is placed on a crucial axis when considering the theoretical differences highlighted in this chapter. Lefebvre presents an inclusive way of thinking and theoretical framework for truth through space. One of the methods he used in this theorizing endeavor was abstraction. However, Lefebvre's emphasis on *concrete abstraction* here is not an effort to create a mere world of ideas in the vein of the German philosophical tradition. On the contrary, here, there is an abstraction as the *generative agent* abovementioned by Gerlofs (2023).

> This is the inconstant morphology upon which Lefebvre constructed his Right to the City. Shifting modes within the text—sometimes in ways that readers continue to find frustrating—he moves from incisive critique of past and present to virtual abstraction of negated-negation, from unalienated urban oeuvres to reordered centralities of unsegregated encounter. The Lefebvrian dialectical variation is thus unusually creative, deviating from the Marxian mean in its assertion of a third dialectical energy, a creative actant forever disrupting bipolarities and forging new paths in virtual and material space. It is tempting to read in Lefebvre's triadic movement a rearticulation of Marx's problematic, as he himself sometimes explained his approach. As Kofman and Lebas (1996, 9–10) argue, however, "Lefebvre's dialectic is not that of Hegel, thesis-antithesis-synthesis, nor one of affirmation-negation-negation found in Marx, but a much more open, ended [sic] movement, bringing together the conflictual and contradictory, and linking theory and practice," which "dissolves stable morphologies to such an extent that stability becomes a problem." (Gerlofs, 2023, pp. 71-2).

This study will be a tryout to reverse the way of thinking about urban theory. This is a reading that takes advantage of the way of thinking of French *nothingness ontology*, which is led by Jacques Lacan and Alain Badiou and is based on defining urban through non-urban without any temporality reference between the concepts. Especially Badiou, in his *Ethics: An Essay on Understanding Evil* (2001), brings a harsh criticism to the European literature on the war in the context of Yugoslavia, which sees the atrocities there as something related to distance and an ethical problem. He criticizes the European approach to what was happening in Yugoslavia as such:

> In this *pathos* of proximity, we can almost sense the trembling equivocation, halfway between fear and enjoyment, of finally perceiving *so close to us* horror and destruction, war and cynicism. Here ethical ideology has at its disposal, almost knocking on the protected gates of civilized shelter, the revolting yet delicious combination of a complex Other (Croats, Serbs, and those enigmatic 'Muslims' of Bosnia) and an avowed Evil. History has delivered the ethical *dish* to our very door (Badiou, 2001, p. 34).

Lacan, on the other hand, does not talk about the issue directly, but the discussions on weaponry and war are handled within the context of his concepts of *desire*, *lack,* and *objet petit a.* Desire is one of the principle conceptualization of Lacan can be identified as the desire of the other in the context of recognition: "desire is the desire for what we think the other/Other desires – with the little 'o' representing another person, and the big 'O' representing the Symbolic" (Danil, 2018, p. 4). Lack, in this respect, is the ground of being: "Desire is a relation of being to lack. This lack is the lack of properly speaking. It isn't the lack of this or that, but the lack of being whereby the being exists. […] This lack is beyond anything which can represent it. It is only ever represented as a reflection on a veil" (Lacan, 1991, p. 223). Lacan defines *object petit a* as something "which stands in for the Thing, or the Real – again, it is the object cause of desire […]

(its engine) and promises to permanently satiate desire and restore fullness to the subject – an impossibility since desire can never be definitively fulfilled" (Danil, 2018, p. 6). Thus, the making of war and weaponry has been discussed through these concepts of Lacan by constituting a relational approach between war and lack. In Danil's article (2018), the argument is presented as such:

> a weapon can become an integral point of identification for particular individuals, and even a fetish-like object, specifically as one specific instance of what Lacan termed the *object petit an* […] aggressivity is also brought about through competition for living space, which is seen as being correlated to the subjective imagery of the ego. Here, for Lacan, [...] 'war is increasingly proving to be the inevitable and necessary midwife of all of our organizational progress' (pp. 6-10).

The argument of the thesis is to identify the present through the *non-present*: it is to define the object of analysis through annihilation and destruction. This endeavor has necessitated a comprehensive engagement with specific academic schools, influential figures, and established traditions within the scholarly discourse. Foremost among these conceptual frameworks and discussions stands the discourse on "urbicide," which has assumed a prominent position in advancing these nuanced conceptualizations.

The thesis aims to delineate the concept of the urban, which encompasses a state of destruction and ruin that spans across all the theories and research methodologies discussed in this chapter. Although these ideas and research methodologies may seem diametrically opposed initially, they may often be refashioned into mutually supportive research instruments by exploiting their inherent tensions. The study's approach to the city is based on these tensions, but it is not without internal inconsistencies. However, the privileged position of the thesis here is that it does so through destruction, debris, and nothingness concerning the French ontology of nothingness. Abrams defines the factors as "larger systems," which are discussed as separate subheadings within the next chapter and analyzed with other factors that constitute this social form: space, memory, war, and power. But what is at stake in this study (without excluding all these factors from the analysis) is not such multidimensional readings of urban but rather the war-based necropolitical destruction of space and memory and the new understanding of the city it brought about.

In the next chapter, I will focus on the four pillars of our approach that will make the concept of urbicide more systematic and operationalized. These four pillars draw on

the theories of the urban and space and their theoretical dilemmas that we have discussed in this chapter. Instead of an eclectic approach, I will opt for intertwined theoretical approaches and their methodological positioning, which I will discuss in more detail in the next section.

CHAPTER IV

URBICIDE: THE INTERSECTION OF SPACE, MEMORY, WAR, AND NECROPOLITICS

As expounded in the preceding chapter, the scholarship surrounding urbicide constitutes a pioneering endeavor within urban sociology. This literature markedly extends the contours of urban sociological inquiry by probing the intricate nexus between urban conceptualizations and the phenomena of violence and destruction. Within this analytical framework, the ensuing section shall expound upon the foundational tenets of my conceptualization of urbicide, a theoretical framework rooted in the ontological premises of French nothingness ontology. This theoretical edifice rests upon four principal pillars, symbolically illustrated as a *figure-8*, each serving as a critical underpinning for the overarching construct of urbicide.

The first attribute I will discuss will be space. The ideas surrounding space and place will be examined when their distinctions are made clear. Lefebvre's theory of social space and Michel de Certeau's conceptualizations of space and place will be used as the theoretical background. The term urbicide describes a drastic spatial alteration of the urban environment. The image of a city whose infrastructure and social artifacts have been destroyed and reduced to rubble is, first and foremost, spatial destruction. In other words, urbicide as a conceptual tool emerges from analyzing a destroyed spatiality.

Secondly, the memory or time attribute will be discussed. This part of the chapter will focus on the spatiality of time. After mentioning the theories of collective memory, the conceptualizations of monument and rhythm will be discussed. Urbicide is not only a spatial destruction but also a temporal rupture. The destruction of the monuments that embody social memory and the houses that give a sense of being in the world and belonging creates a syncope in the rhythm of the everyday. Therefore, this differentiation in rhythm creates what Lefebvre calls a field of contingency. This field

of contingency and the possibility of a revolutionary moment create a pendulum between social transformation and subordination.

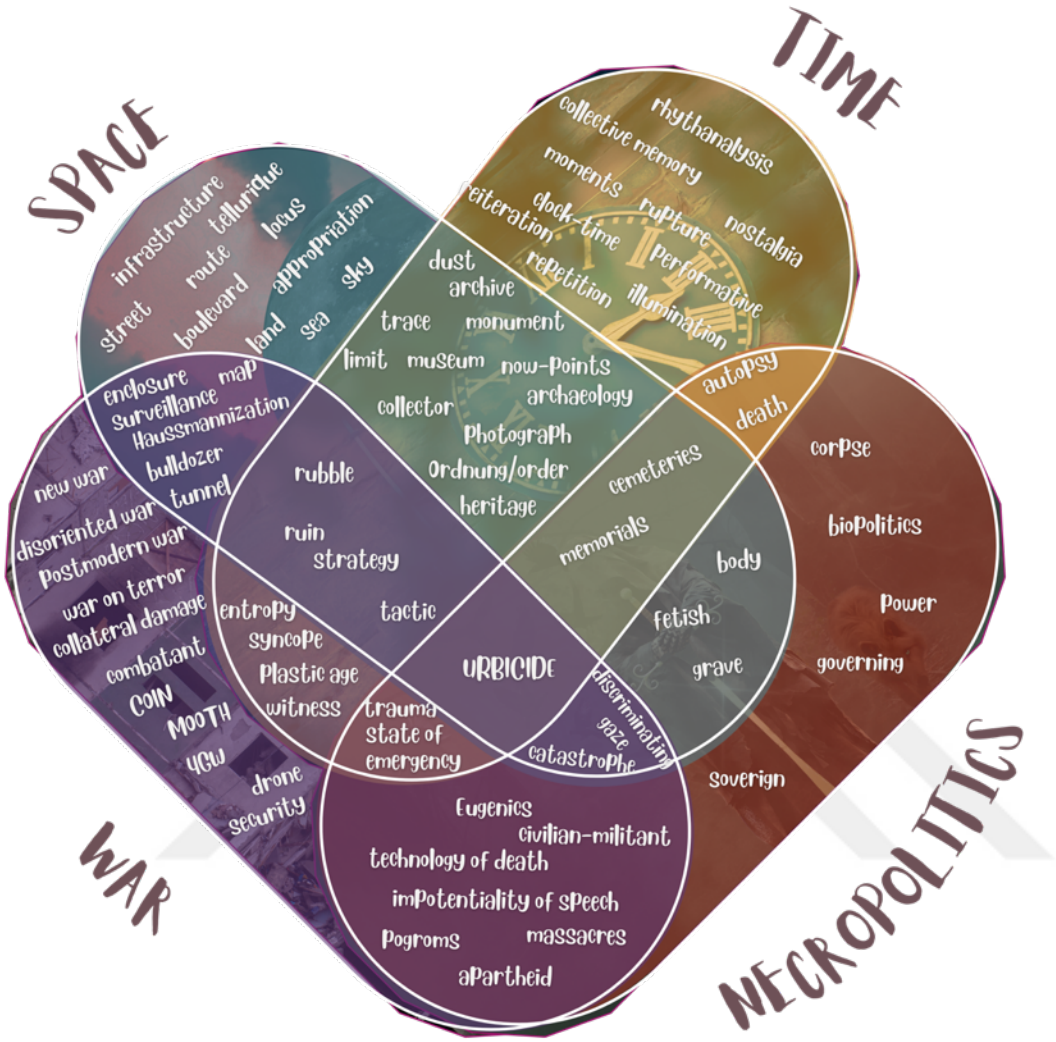


Figure 8: Venn Diagram of the Intersection of Four Dimensions

In the third subsection, I will discuss the notion of war. In this section, I will talk about the epistemological roots of war, the theoretical anchors, and reflections of war on the social. The destruction of the urban as a result of war, which is one of the four main aspects of the definition of destruction as urbicide rather than the classical conceptualizations of urban sociology, has changed the form and content of war with the development of war technologies in the 20th century, the dominance of nation-states in global politics, and the two great wars of division. Today, war technologies that are even more advanced than in the previous century, war budgets that increased tremendously with the Cold War, and the deepening social impact of the media with the developing technology have significantly transformed the notions of violence,

destruction, and war. In this chapter section, I will take a showcase look at war, followed by the definition of violence that I use to conceptualize urbicide.

Finally, the aspect I will discuss in this section is necropolitics. In presenting this aspect, which should be considered with the notion of war I discussed in the previous section, I will focus on the three-stage epistemological history of necropolitics, a concept coined by Achille Mbembe. Under the title *Biopolitics: Power over Life*, I will discuss the relationship between the body and politics established by Michel Foucault, who is known as the namesake of the concept of biopolitics. Then I will include the contributions of Hardt & Negri, and Agamben on this subject. In another subheading of this section, *Sociology of Death*, I will discuss how the concepts of corpse and autopsy can contribute to urban debates. In the last section, I will focus on the relationship between death and politics established by Achille Mbembe, one of the most important figures of this journey *from biopolitics to necropolitics*.

4.1. Space

I hear the ruin of all space, shattered glass and toppling masonry.

James Joyce, Ullyses

There is no way to treat space as more than just an *object* until its qualitative features are abstracted and reduced to numbers. Space has had its experiential meaning removed in favor of a mathematical abstraction ideal for scientific purposes. Nothing remains except a mathematical representation of a physical asset devoid of substance or an idealized conception of space. The dominant modern worldview sees built environments through a Cartesian lens, making them seem lifeless and abstract from the people and activities that surround them.

Since Descartes' distinction of *res cogitans* and *res extensa*, the prevailing view of space has been the neutral, meaning-independent, homogenous, and sterile Euclidean view. The philosophical consideration of space as an a priori category was bolstered by Kant's removal of space from the empirical realm and Hegel's understanding of space as a logical epistemic notion. One of the most significant intellectual undertakings in pre-Einsteinian Physics was the attempt to define space, founded on

Newton's concept of absolute time and space. In this understanding of space, which has no physical connotation, "Material bodies which consist of tiny corpuscles interact with one another in a vast spatial container according to the mechanical rules set down in the Principia" (Ray, 1991, pp. 103-4). In *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica,* Newton says that

> Absolute space, in its own nature, without regard to anything external, remains always similar and immovable. Relative space is some movable dimension or measure of the absolute spaces; which our senses determine by its position to bodies; and which is vulgarly taken for immovable space…
>
> Absolute motion is the translation of a body from one absolute place into another; and relative motion, the translation from one relative place into another (as cited in Ferraro, 2007, p. 2).

Leibniz fundamentally opposed the Newtonian fixed, infinite, and non-relational understanding of space because, according to Leibniz, "two universes whose bodies occupied different 'absolute' positions but identical relative positions would be indiscernible" (Ferraro, 2007, p. 1). This approach, which sees space as a fixed and in-itself self, lost its hegemonic characteristic with a paradigmatic transformation, and a new intellectual practice emerged that discusses the mobility of space. As the relativist paradigm began to dominate scientific thought, the idea of perspective also emerged in the debates. With a nod to relativist theory, Heidegger describes this dynamic state of space as follows:

> Space is nothing in itself; there is no absolute space. It exists merely by way of the bodies and energies contained in it. (An old proposition of Aristotle's:) Time too is nothing. It persists merely as a consequence of the events taking place in it. There is no absolute time and no absolute simultaneity either. In seeing the destructive side of this theory, one readily overlooks what is positive about it, namely, that it demonstrates precisely the invariability, with respect to arbitrary transformations, of those equations describing natural processes (1992, p. 3E).

As implied by the quote in question, an implicit demarcation is drawn between the notions of *space* and *place*, wherein the former pertains to a conceptual realm of perception, while the latter encompasses a realm of lived experiences. In this analytical context, the concept of space transcends mere vectorial or quantitative attributes, gaining additional dimensions that encompass its inherent political and sociocultural facets. This nuanced perspective finds resonance in Foucault's articulation, wherein he denotes space as "the fundamental element in any exercise of power" (1984, p. 252), thus underscoring its critical role in the dynamics of power relations. In the

ensuing section, a comprehensive examination of this dynamic and relational conception of space shall be undertaken, referencing the works of two seminal theorists.

4.1.1. Frames of Space and Place

A more relational and relative definition of space has been attempted in the 20th century, particularly in the wake of relativism and the cultural turn in the social sciences. The bounded and quantified view of space has spread from physics and the natural sciences into the humanities. In the 19th century, the positivist perspective of the social sciences and the discontent with the methodological and ethical understanding of the social sciences as a bourgeois science led to the formation of new frontiers in geography (Samuels, 1978, p. 22).

One of these is Frédéric Le Play's conceptualization of world societies. Le Play's typology, built on the "publicist" and "individualist" ideas, is founded on the intimate connection between geographical circumstances and society's economic and industrial activities. As a result, he finds support for his opinions by considering social events from a perspective other than their geographical context. Geography is a key determinant of the circumstances and types of work accessible to a family, where the families get their means of survival. To be sure, Le Play had faith in human creativity and initiative to make the most of what was available and to adjust when necessary. This is where the social takes the stage. With a reference to Le Play, Minshull states that "the place decides the type of work, and the type of work decides the type of society; in short that people are conditioned by their environment and have to work and live as it dictates" (2013, p. 20).

This view, grounded in the concepts of serendipity, contingency, and possibility, places an emphasis on the ingenuity of individuals. Vidal's concept of *the mode of life (genre de vie)* is the manifestation of this creativity of humankind, particularly the "initiative and creative adaption to his/[their] environment" (Berdoulay, 1978, p. 87). Vidal's thoughts on this creative process are as such: "In his relations with his surroundings he [man] is at once both active and passive, and it is not easy to determine in most instances to what extent he is the one or the other" (as cited in Buttimer, 1978, p. 70).

By considering the two possible ways people interact with geography—as a passive observer or an engaged actor—Vidal elevated geography to a more humanistic position. This humanistic slant's academic representations have mainly pushed geography into the realm of the social sciences. For example, John Agnew (1987) refers to the social construction of place when he discusses three basic aspects of it. The first of these three basic aspects, *location*, refers to the fixed coordinates of a place on Earth. Conversely, the *locale* is defined as the "material setting for social relations," linking the material form with the social (Cresswell, 2004, p. 7). Agnew refers to the third component of this strategy as a "sense of place," which is evocative of Lefebvre's triad. This aspect is defined as the "subjective and emotional attachment people have to place" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 7).

Cresswell adds a fourth to these three aspects of place and defines it as a way of understanding. In his view, "We do not live in landscapes - we look at them" (2004, p. 11). Place, for him, is also a perspective through which one learns about and makes sense of the world. It is clear that individuals have developed strong feelings for their places of origin. This perspective, which seems to have more room for space than place, is often seen as a deliberate act of defiance against a rationalization of the world.

This humanistic connotation has been extended to fields like sociology, politics, and architecture due to the post-1960s emphasis on space. This section will focus on space and place's historical and theoretical background. I have previously said Lefebvre's impact marked a watershed moment in our understanding of space. Especially his sociological perspective on the spatial existence of the built environment and the economy has been a critical intervention for urban sociology. The Lefebvrian approach established space and place as distinct academic disciplines, providing a fertile ground for developing new schools of thought. Foucault's influence here is undeniable. The ideas discussed above may be traced back to his work, particularly the connection he made between space and power. The theorists who have been discussed in relation to issues of space and place and their relationality with power have undoubtedly considered Foucault's claims and provided some responses.

Using the formation of cities, Manuel de Landa elaborates on the dual character of space. His argument centers on the relative importance of the process's centralized and decentralized decision-making processes. There is frequently a symbiotic relationship

between the planned grid layout of cities and the more organic urban structure that develops due to geography or political processes. This clarifies the paradoxical character of urban centers for de Landa. His exact words:

> The mineralization of humanity took forms that were the combined result of conscious manipulation of urban space by some central agency and of the activities of many individuals, without any central "decider." And yet, the two processes, and the forms they typically give rise to, remain distinct despite their coexistence and mutual transformations. On the one hand, the grid is "the best and quickest way to organize a homogeneous population with a single social purpose." On the other hand, whenever a *heterogeneous* group of people comes together spontaneously, they tend to organize themselves in an interlocking urban pattern that interconnects them without *homogenizing* them (de Landa, 2000, pp. 30-31).

This thesis will argue, among other things, that it is possible to have a conception of space that vacillates between homogeneity and heterogeneity and eventually goes beyond this duality in the Lefebvrian sense. In this section of the thesis, I will focus on two theoretical minds and figures, namely, Henri Lefebvre and his successors and Michel de Certeau. The basis of the discussion is mainly the difference between place and space.

4.1.1.1. De Certeauian Distinction of Space and Place

Mitchell Dean issues a cautionary note regarding the ambivalent nature of Foucault's power theory. The dilemma is that the trap of the *headless sovereign* is impossible to uphold while also rejecting the substantive theory of power. The question is, therefore, why this headless body so frequently acts as if it did. This viewpoint does not indicate the rejection of all significant players and the complete exclusion of macro forces. Even if you remove the king's head, it will still be accepted as a fact in society that there is a king. Regarding political analysis and thought, Foucault points out that we have yet to remove the king's head. This paradox is fundamental to any understanding of authority. Scholarly attention to banality and everydayness is required due to the methodological transition from the realm of heroic unitary agency to that of the quotidian (Bekiroğlu & Topal, 2023, p. 10).

The peculiarity of the everyday that escapes the gaze of panoptic disciplinary power is one of the areas of interest transformed as a result of this methodological shift. To counter the inevitability and universality of power structures asserted by urban

planners, cartographers, urban sociologists, and the governing authority, de Certeau proposes the voyeuristic pleasure that makes the reader suspicious about the readability of the world (*Erotik des Wissens*). This Hitchcockian sense of voyeuristic pleasure is most evident in the organized space of the city and its productive consumers, the urban dweller. It locates the urban dweller's own space or the space of the other. In a sense, this locating, on the one hand, constitutes a boundary and on the other, makes possible the conceptualization of the "non-place." This ontology of nothingness in de Certeau may be grasped by highlighting the key distinctions in his space theory. De Certeau also contributes to the literature on making a difference between space and place. While the latter is related to the regular army, which recalls the nation-state mentality (controlling and desire for possession), the former is the space of the guerilla who turns the space into its own space.

The first of the dilemmas de Certeau's conundrum concerns the relationship between the act of walking and building. Beyond the heterogeneity of its subjects, the contemporary city is recognized as a manageable whole. This drive for surveillance is most evident in the domineering rationalism of urban planning and the burgeoning of space as a political sphere. The city is a set of bounded practices designed as an ideal space of transparency and legibility. De Certeau sees walking as the basic operation of the urban user. Walking as a form of appropriation of urban space is the realization of space and the relational determination of a location. However, walking is ephemeral; each repetition leaves behind traces and a relation of power that works to make these traces legible. In the face of the legibility of space, the walking urban dweller opens paths that disrupt this fiction. In doing so, s/he is not free from the regularities of the city but creates possibilities by deconstructing the spatial language of urban. Each repetition adds nuance to the dynamic between command, restriction, possibility, and transgression.

Another dichotomy discussed in relation to the practices of building and walking is map and route. By transposing the aforementioned regularities of the city into the coordinate system, the map unveils the city with a panoptic eye. The regularity provided by this pattern is intended to provide the setting for the pedestrian activity that is disrupted by buildings and other structures. Walking, on the other hand, is a mobile activity of meaning-making that cannot be represented. Mapped routes

undergo transformations as they are actually used by city dwellers. Here, the map fails to capture the expressive potential of walking as a technique of meaning construction.

> Within this reciprocal relationship, constantly created through narratives, de Certeau distinguishes two basic patterns: routes ('parcours') and maps ('cartes'). By 'doing' and 'seeing' these two different types of experience are organized. The description of the route becomes a 'discursive sequence of actions,' while the narration of the map results in 'the reduction of observations to a totalizing level' (Füssel, 2013, p. 34).

De Certeau explains this semantic variation using two stylistic figures: synecdoche and asyndeton. Synecdoche symbolizes a whole through its parts. A minaret representing a mosque and a helmet representing a military zone can be given as examples of this seamless relationship between part and whole. Asyndeton, on the other hand, determines meanings through gaps and omissions. Asyndeton may manifest as skips, shortcuts, and gaps in urban settings. It disrupts the flow of everyday life by adding pauses, speeds, and stops.

In order to successfully navigate these strategic regularities, the urban walker must use a variety of tactics. Shortcuts by stepping on the grass, blind spots in side streets avoiding the cartographer's panoptic gaze, and alternative routes through buildings are the various tactics that the urban user applies in the rhythm of everyday life. In de Certeau's words, "Strategy is a technique of place, and tactics is a technique of space" 1984, p. 89). From de Certeau's standpoint, strategy refers to "a function of place, yet it takes a certain kind of strategic thinking or operating to actually produce a place" (Buchanan, 2001, p. 87). According to him, the control area is set by the strategy, therefore in order to design a control mechanism, one must first decide what needs to be controlled and to what extent (to what point the control mechanism will extend).

> the weak turn 'places' constructed by the powerful, such as cities, workplaces, and shopping malls, into their own 'spaces' through trickery, disguise, deception, and simulation. The tactic lacks such a place; it means to be in the place of others. The tactic 'insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance.' Tactics exist within the borders, so the borders are not determinative aspects. Tactics blur the boundaries (Bekiroğlu & Topal, 2023, p. 12).

As the quotations suggest, the distinction between strategy and tactic points directly to the dichotomy of space and place. In the simplest terms, while the place is the site of power, space refers to a guerrilla-type appropriation. De Certeau uses these two concepts in an effort to clarify the underlying structural principles of spatial narrative.

In his spatial theory, place is defined as the order in which units of all kinds are divided according to their conditions of coexistence. A place is, therefore, an instantaneous regular clustering of coordinates in a certain order. In contrast, space is a dynamic system made up of interconnected parts. These units emerge in a certain sense and are loaded with meaning: In short, space is "a spoken word." Space is defined as a performative but fluid state of being. Places are static and dead: They are fixed points, ordered by relations of power and static in meaning. On the other hand, space is alive and produced by practices: Users produce differences within this fluidity, disrupting the fixed structure of meaning. Processed and transformed in this way by practices, space is turned into singularities and discrete clusters. This transformation creates a spatial narrative pattern of gaps, omissions, and allusions. The result is not a new cartography of the social but a multiplicity of routes, byways, or detours. This production of meaning also draws boundaries between places and opens up space for a maneuver. As a result, the border becomes the condition of the possibility of spatiality. In other words, space is constructed through difference, and a wall, fence, or any other obstacle cannot limit this production.

After the Reformation, the church as a space lost its former monopoly on the authority of religious command and became an object of imaginary discourse. With the dissolution of the Church came the question of who had the authority to speak on behalf of Christianity. This *non-spatial* authorized language became the defining element of Christian practices. In this sense, the Christian faith requires absence as a necessary condition for its existence. In this sense, every form of authority in Christian society is marked by the absence of that which constitutes it. Since each authority reveals what it is not, there can no longer be a single authority representing the whole. Authority is, therefore, necessarily plural. De Certeau's ideas continually return to the problem of the non-spatiality of a non-institutionally authorized speech that is also produced as a practice (Füssel, 2013). In a secular world, everyday practices of faith constitute non-places, with meaning referring to the original that becomes *non-place*.

> The non-place of the empty tomb becomes the function of a text, the narration always refers back to the event that gives rise to it. In this way, writing becomes a system of references to the other, to the absent. The thinking of alterity is a thinking in relations, it is a thinking of the border between self and other, presence and absence, here and there, secular and sacred (Füssel, 2013, p. 26).

De Certeau mentions here that the moral discourses of the church constitute a discourse of place, pointing to an empty tomb, to a non-place, just as Foucault's *rule of the*

headless king (actually pointing to the absence of a king) is still embodied in the practices of individuals. In his discussion of Hagio-Graphical Edification, de Certeau states that:

> Perhaps the fact that a particular place is made relative through a composition of many places-akin to the effacement of the individual behind a combination of virtues aiming at the manifestation of being-indeed furnishes the "moral" of hagiography: indeed, a pure will to signify, whose non-place is here a discourse of places (de Certeau, 1988, p. 282).

De Certeau's dichotomies mentioned at the beginning of this section are taken as a methodical contribution to the methodological background of this thesis. Walking, maps, routes, and shortcuts are not only conceptually stimulating but also important in terms of seeing the political-spatial consequences of these practices in everyday life. Moreover, with his concept of non-place, de Certeau contributes to the discussions on the conceptualizations of nothingness-absence and destruction that we have been discussing throughout the thesis, emphasizing the remarkable counterpart of the discourse of place in the context of power relations. After de Certeau, who makes a critical contribution to spatial theory with his conceptualizations of everyday life, the ordinary person, and productive consumption, I will continue with another important figure, Henri Lefebvre, in the next chapter.

4.1.1.2. Space for Lefebvre

Lefebvre likewise demystifies capitalist social space by tracing out its inner dynamics and generative moments -in all their various physical and mental guises, in all their material and political obfuscations. Here, generative means, 'active' and 'creative,' and creation, he says, 'is, in fact, a process.' Thus, getting at this generative aspect of space necessitates exploring how space gets actively produced.

Merrifield, 2006, p. 104-105

After Descartes abandoned the Aristotelian tradition and relegated it to the realm of the senses, the concept of space gave rise to a rich and varied new field of study in the development of philosophical thought. Cartesian logic has essentially replaced the Aristotelian perspective, which considers space and time as distinct categories. Lefebvre described this change as follows: "With the advent of Cartesian logic,

however, space entered the realm of the absolute. As Object opposed to Subject, as *res extensa* opposed to, and the present to, *res cogitans*, space came to dominate, by containing them, all senses and all bodies" (1996, p. 1). With Kant, space was finally brought into the a priori domain and dealt with on a transcendental basis. In the modern sense, mathematicians pioneered the definition of space as a mental entity. Therefore, space as a container and a plane of measured coordinates became the dominant understanding of the modern period.

The first line of the argument about the definition of space is mainly related to the classical and everyday understanding of space which can be named physical space or spatial practice. According to Lefebvre, this type of definition of space mainly refers to Euclidian geometry. Therein, the space is comprehended as something physical detached from the social or social practices. Social relations and practices are attached to the space as an exterior force. The place, in short, is where things happen. The second aspect of the triad is called the representation of space or mental space. Unlike the first, this type of understanding of space relates to how it is conceived. Space here is taken as the product of power or the system. As aforementioned, each and every system requires an appropriate space to exercise and reproduce its own conditions. When we come to the last type of space, called lived space, space here is produced through the uses of the dwellers and citizens. This is the lived and also the "dominated space –and hence passively experienced- space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (Lefebvre: 1996, p. 39). His definition of the term is as such: "representational space is alive; it speaks. [...] [I]t is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic" (1996, p. 42). The concept of "lived," in this conceptualization, is a very loaded term which connotes "memory," "history," "existence," "being," "everyday" &c.; which also connotes many disciplines, subdisciplines, theories, thoughts, from Bakhtin to Heidegger, Bergson to Benjamin. In one sense, this conceptualization of space created a quantum effect on understanding urban space and everyday life. This effect could be seen easily, especially in the "double illusions" in the concealment of the fact of social space. Particularly the second illusion, named the *realistic illusion*, is noteworthy. While the illusion of transparency hides the mind behind the production of space, the realistic illusion conceals the space, which creates its own power. Indeed, it is itself a power, like being a product and production simultaneously. It shows how the space is related and produced not through the system or structures via its exchange

value but through the use-value demanded by the users. It is both a *cry and a demand* of the people who produce the space itself. Like in de Certeau's paths in contrary to maps, Lefebvre's conceptualization refers to pathways that people opened, which leads us to the differential space in the theory of space of Lefebvre. Differential space is a way of appropriating the space by producing lived spaces that carries transformative power. As Stavrides puts it

> People not only experience space but also think through space and imagine through space. Space, thus, not only gives form to the existing social world (experienced and understood as a meaningful life-condition), but also to possible social worlds, to worlds that may inspire action and express collective dreams (2010, p. 11).

Lefebvre strived to explain space in three different classifications, which is known as the spatial triad. Indeed, there are some interpretations of the Hegelian backdrop of his triad classification. Although he does not refer to any "backward" logic of Hegelian understanding, his triad is produced in the logic of dialectics which can be seen in the Logic of Hegel. These definitions of space are not closed systems that have no relationality. For instance, the physical space is placed between the conceived space and the lived space, and none of them could be thought of without the others. The existence of one type is dependent on the other. In a sense, each type requires the others for its being in a dialectical sense.

Lefebvre argued early on that space is more than a geometrical idea; it also has practical and experiential dimensions. These practices which produce the social space do not occur independently of the system. In the words of Lefebvre: "spatial practice consists in a projection onto a (spatial) field of all aspects, elements and moments of social practice" (1996, p. 8). According to Lefebvre, these "aspects, elements and moments" are the key components of the science of space. This is a result of his division of use-value and exchange value of the space and his emphasis on the former. Lefebvre states that: "if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production. The 'object' of interest must be expected to shift from things in space to the actual production of space" (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 36). Since the space cannot be comprehended from just one vantage point, this method effectively fractures and goes beyond the traditional local/global divide. External influences form it as a state policy or authority plan (spatial representation) but also have the power to alter it. At this point, it is useful to remember Lefebvre's dialectic of power relations and appropriation. Lefebvre notes that there is a destructive

aspect to the appropriation of space that challenges established authority structures. According to him, this practice, which makes space its own, creates a conflict between "the constraining powers and the forces of appropriation" (as cited in Stanek, 2011, p. 87). For Lefebvre,

> For an individual, for a group, to inhabit is to appropriate something. Not in the sense of possessing it, but as making it an oeuvre, making it one's own, marking it, modeling it, shaping it. This is the case with individuals and with small groups like families, and it is also true for big social groups that inhabit a city or a region. To inhabit is to appropriate space, in the midst of constraints, that is to say, to be in a conflict—often acute—between the constraining powers and the forces of appropriation (as cited in Stanek, 2011, p. 87).

The transformative power of appropriation has a distinctive place in Lefebvre's spatial theory. Stanek writes about this transformative power and states that

> In the preface to *L'habitat pavillonnaire*, Lefebvre wrote that domination ravages nature, while appropriation "transforms it—the body and biological life provided, and the time and space—into human property"; it is thus "the goal, the direction, the purpose of social life": economic and technical growth is possible without it, but not social development (Stanek, 2011, p. 87).

In that sense, for Lefebvre, it is a "productive process" but cannot be reduced to its products. In his words: "It is no longer a matter of the space of this or the space of that: rather, it is space in its totality or global aspect that needs not only to be subjected to analytic scrutiny" (1996, p. 37). But he continues as such:

> Yet this space is always, now and formerly, a present space, given as an immediate whole, complete with its associations and connections in their actuality. Thus production process and product present themselves as two inseparable aspects, not as two separable ideas (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 37).

The first point to make is that there is a historical connotation and implication behind the notion of the production of space. That is, each productive force and social relations of production constitute/produce its own space, and the history of space, in other words, is the history of humanity. In this sense, space is a historical but also a social product. "Social space, therefore, incorporates social action (in practice, representation, and symbolic meaning) and constitutes a process -a process that assumes an act of creation, a process of production" (Swyngedouw, 1992, p. 318).

Space as a process is also the space of difference. In the neo-capitalist era, the space is produced concerning "minimal difference," which is "demarcated by property divisions, transportation routes, and lines of functional and social segregation, these

parcelized social spaces (planned in vulgar modernist fashion)" (Kipfer, 2008, p. 201). It is an "alienated particularity (individualism or group particularism) that tends toward "difference-as-sameness" and "formal identity" (Kipfer, 2008, p. 202). Contrary to minimal difference which is the product of planners and designers, the maximal or produced difference is the festive, creative, affective, unalienated, fully lived forms of plurality and individuality that assume rich social relations unfettered by forms of "indifference" (individualism, pluralism, imitation, conformism, naturalized particularism). The maximal difference is incompatible with the alienations of private property, the state-like, decorporealized knowledge, linguistic abstraction, phallocentrism, and neo-colonialism. Sources for maximal difference can be found both within the interstices of everyday life and in the midst of uprisings (Kipfer, 2008, p. 203). In that sense, everyday life as a flourishing field that bears the difference presents possibilities for change due to the possibility of the production of differentiated space. This possibility is discussed in his analysis on the basis of the concept of "right."

Lefebvre talks about the "construction of a new [city] on new foundations" (Lefebvre, 1967) on the basis of the right to the city. For him, as a pseudo-right, right to the city "is a cry and a demand. [...] The claim to nature, and the desire to enjoy it displace the right to the city. [...] It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (Lefebvre, 1967, p. 158). The package is brought packed with references to encounters, multiplicity, variations, differentiations, everyday life, and the real sense of 'life.' However, the case of death cities is nearly the opposite: no encountering but hiding or fighting, no differentiation but just the same kind of ruin and rubble, not a normalized and routinized everyday life but the state of "exception" and death. In a one-sentence, it turned out to be the right to life rather than the right to the city. Then, what could be said about urbanization, and could there be an estimation about the future of the city and urban from the point of death cities? These debates will be discussed in the section on ruin and destroyed spatiality. Before moving on to that section, focusing on some spatial settings is necessary.

Since Lefebvre's space cannot be perceived independently of the relations of production, the hierarchy in social relations also finds a spatial correspondence. The production of space is also a production of relations of domination. For Lefebvre, these

forms of reproduction form a hierarchical morphology. But the understanding of this morphology poses a threat by creating a rupture for them.

> The rationality of this space is stripped off like a veil when one realizes that, in reality, it "regulates" and perpetuates the relations of domination. It accomplishes this by subordinating simple reproduction (of the labor force) to the more complex reproduction of the relations of production, and by subordinating the latter to the relations of domination, incorporated into space. These modalities of reproduction include and imply one another, constituting in turn a hierarchical morphology that guarantees their intelligibility but also threatens them: for there can be no such *morphology without a rupture (catastrophe)*[41]. This is how the relation of the dominant to the dominated can be explained. This relation must be reduced neither to the empirical nor to mere representation. A space that is dominated may itself be dominant over another space. We know that the spatial hierarchy presents itself as an entwining or imbrication of dominant/dominated spaces. This relation of inclusion/exclusion has a logical (logistical) character. Here one may add that the following elements include and imply one another morphologically -*everydayness* (time programmed in and by space); *spatiality* (center-periphery relations); and the *repetitive* (the identical is reproduced under conditions in which natural differences and particularities are abolished). The social hierarchy thus presents itself, more evidently today than ever, as a *spatial hierarchy* (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 245).

In the conceptualization of urbicide, where the destruction of space is the focal point, the power relations underlying the rubble are addressed through the acts of killing and destruction. The hierarchical morphology hidden in the production of space can be grasped more easily in its destruction. However, the destruction that takes place with the war is the equivalent of what Lefebvre defines above as *rupture (catastrophe).* Because here, there is a social memory reduced to *rubble*, an identity that becomes a target, an attack that extends from the ground to the sky, and the *syncope* created in the daily rhythm of urban dwellers reduced to *bare life*.

4.1.2. The Scenery

In this part of the thesis, I will discuss how different spatial arrangements create a shift in the conceptualization of space. By different spatial arrangements, I mean that space is organized by users according to different functions, meanings, and architectural structures. These arrangements cause various shifts in the perception, design, and experience of space. Sennett discusses this shift with reference to Aristotle as follows:

---

[41] Italics are mine.

> Aristotle believed this shift in space also made sense in terms of political changes in the city. In the Politics, he wrote, "A citadel [an acropolis] is suitable to oligarchy and one-man rule, level ground to democracy." Aristotle supposed an equal horizontal plane between citizens. Yet the most striking building up on the Akropolis, the Parthenon, declared the glory of the city itself (1996, p. 38).

Within the scope of this thesis, the organization of space as house, street, and infrastructure are the sub-headings of this chapter. The poetics of home as a place, the qualitative differentiation of the street and boulevard, and finally, the micropolitics of infrastructure will be discussed, respectively.

4.1.2.1. Home and Dwelling or the Poetics of Space

Theoretical discussions on home space have interdisciplinary content. Disciplines such as architecture, geography, sociology, and economics have examined domestic space from different dimensions and presented different conceptualizations of domestic space. Within the scope of this thesis, the meaning of domestic space and its destruction is addressed with a Lefebvrian approach as a network of relations established through social relations. Home space refers to an economic unit and primarily corresponds to a physical commodity in production relations. Home is also a space of memory and privacy. In this sense, the home is a practice of demarcation and at the same time, a space where the distinction between self and other is established and this relationship is maintained. The home as a place is fundamentally about demarcation: It is a boundary drawn between me and the Other, between me and him/her. For example, based on the Turkish word "*evürmek*," meaning "to enclose," it has been hypothesized that the primitive meaning of home is "a place surrounded." Similarly, "*dara*," derived from the Arabic word "*dar*," which means "house," has the meaning "to encircle."

As a field of study, home as a place of work has been a conceptualization that has been addressed from very different perspectives by different disciplines. Phenomenological approaches, which prioritize experience in the body-space relationship, discuss domestic space in the context of being and vitality. Heidegger (1971), one of the important figures of this intellectual perspective, does not favor the idea of a singular dwelling when talking about the notion of "shelter," which he defines within the scope of the theory of being. For him, shelter is primarily a matter of belonging. In this sense,

shelter is equivalent to structures that evoke a sense of place. Shelter, which is a state of positioning between Earth and the sky, gains meaning by establishing the relationship between people and the Earth. According to Heidegger's approach, home is understood as a way of being-in-the-world and is laden with experience. The experience here emphasizes the intersection of the singular and the universal, individual choice and social will.

The definition of space as our home on Earth is a common one. The transformation of nature through labor is a kind of human effort to make the Earth home. Bachelard (2014), who approaches dwelling from a different perspective, sees dwelling as a means of understanding the home and the human spirit and as a means of residing on Earth.

Norberg-Schulz is another researcher and architectural theorist who works on the relationship between home and experience. According to him, home is defined as the place where people belong, perceive their position in the world, and look at the world (Norberg-Schulz, 1985). The human need for physical shelter turns into an effort to make sense of differentiated spatial experiences. The user of the house and his/her experiences are the main actors here. The relationship that the user establishes with the Earth and the effect this has on the user are the elements that constitute the home space.

4.1.2.2. Streets and Boulevards or Pathways

> *The best streets are those that can be remembered. They leave strong, long-continuing positive impressions. Thinking of a city, including one's own, one might well think of a particular street and have a desire to be there; such a street is memorable … They [Streets] are entertaining and they are open to all. They permit anonymity at the same time as individual recognition. They are symbols of a community and of its history; they represent a public memory.*
>
> *Jacobs, 1993, pp. 9–11*

Although the checkerboard-like street layout of the Vitruvian period is called the "Roman grid plan," this street design's history can be traced back to the Sumerians

and many ancient Chinese and Egyptian cities. The Romans further systematized this design and laid the foundations behind it. I mentioned above that the house is, in fact, a practice of demarcation. When human beings began to satisfy their need for shelter through enclosure, they began to establish their own space and, thus, the space of the other. With the determination of the domestic space, we begin to talk about a public space that naturally forms between houses. When this begins to take a systematic and planned form, the spatial order we call the street is formed. The thoughts of Allan Jacobs, which I have used as an epigraph at the beginning of the section in the introduction to Paul Connerton's work (2009), show that the street is much more than this spatial order.

Charles Mulford Robinson (1914, pp. 192-3) emphasizes that the street layout, which simply consists of the lines between houses, should be considered primarily as sanitary wisdom. Keeping the street organized, clean and functional regarding a healthy social order and individuals' personal health shows that people began to think of the city as an infrastructure. Secondly, Robinson mentions the economic foundations of the streetscape (1914, pp. 194-6). The street, which means the establishment of a transit system that will ensure the economic welfare of the society, finds meaning in a commodity system (rent system) where what is more accessible is more valuable with the transformation of production relations. Thirdly, Robinson talks about the psycho-social impact of streets (1914, pp. 196-7). The street shapes individuals' spiritual and social behavior regarding its width, length, location, and place in social memory. The fourth area is the power of the street to transform social relations (1914, p. 198). The street's first three characteristics can be evaluated in terms of its social transformation. The street's social health, economic and psycho-social impact also shows how it is an instrument of social transformation.

Therefore, just like the domestic space, the street is not merely a physical/spatial arrangement. At this point, we can refer to Connerton's concept of locus. While explaining *locus* through the examples of house and street, Connerton (2009) says the following:

> The house is not only, therefore, a building in which a group of people live. It provides more than a shelter and spatial disposition of activities, a material order constructed out of walls and boundaries. Over and beyond this it is a medium of representation, and, as such, can be read effectively as a mnemonic system (2009).

Similar to the treatment of the house as a tool of representation, streets are the most concrete examples of the politicization of space and the spatialization of memory, depicting the concept of space, one of the two types of the relationship of social memory with space. Due to the fact that they are spaces that are difficult to keep under surveillance, streets are one of the possible spaces where the political is established. In this sense, it is not a coincidence that the slogan "Beauty is in the Street [*La beauté est dans la rue*]," was one of the leading visual representations of the *68 Movement* in France. "Because these streets blur the previous boundaries that made it possible for us to assign experiences to some isolated categories and to say that one experience was dramatic, the other comic, idyllic or satirical" (Connerton, 2018, p. 33).

Over and beyond this, streets also reflect the economic situation. The relations of production and, accordingly, class status transform the layout of the street. From a dialectical perspective, the spatial layout of the street likewise affects the class situation. Connerton discusses this relationality with reference to Engels as follows:

> To the bourgeois mind of the time the street was a dangerous space; the social war, latent in the capitalist relations of production, was blatantly revealed on the street. When Engels described the condition of the working class in England in the 1840s he showed that the conditions of the working class and the conditions of their streets were the same (Connerton, 2009, p. 8).

Haussmannization is one of the tools of spatial regulation applied by the modern mind with a disciplinary motive within the framework of the surveillance system. Haussmann's changes with respect to perspectives on urbanization in the built environment and political governance of Paris are good examples of the politics of the spatial arrangement of the street layout. In particular, the changes made in the public sphere have both provided favorable conditions for a surveillance society and rendered the space suitable for war as a product of a *totalitarian aesthetic*. Marcus discusses these Haussmannistic interventions in the built environment of the city and especially in its public space as follows: "[T]he expansion of venues for leisure and entertainment, the improvement of urban infrastructure, the construction of broad boulevards, and the development of a unified plan to improve circulation among various parts of the city" (2001, p. 723).

In particular, the construction of wide boulevards and the exploitation of the city as a touristic place for entertainment and leisure activities is an important element that

manifests itself in new constructions. In this way, city dwellers are rendered visible and live in a surveillance system, while at the same time, the city is designed as a visible space that can be intervened in. Large streets and avenues where military vehicles and construction equipment can easily enter have long been one of the methods used in the creation of "ideal" citizens. It is possible to see the role of war in the transformation of space into an area of rent, that is, the transformation of soil into land. Balding lands have been transformed into profitable spaces on which a rentier economy will rise. In the next section, I will discuss another scenery, infrastructure.

4.1.2.3. Infrastructure or Capillaries of City

If you want to destroy someone nowadays, you go after their infrastructure. You don't have to be a nation state to do it, and if they retain any capacity for retaliation then it's probably better if you're not.

Agre, 2001

Destroying the means of producing electricity is particularly attractive because it cannot be stockpiled.

Bolkcom & Pike, 1993

Urban infrastructure can be said to form the skeleton of the city. As mentioned above, the emergence of the city was made possible by making the line separating the two domestic spaces habitable for the growing human population. Services such as water, sewerage, and transportation, which are the minimum conditions required for this, have gradually become institutionalized. Depending on the state of technological developments, electricity, internet, postal systems, transportation services, recycling systems, different energy sources, and their distribution systems were added to these minimum services. After institutionalization, efforts to meet other social and cultural needs were added to these minimum services. Tarr defines urban infrastructure to encompass these features as follows:

> Urban infrastructure is defined as the "sinews" of the city: its road, bridge, and transit networks; its water and sewer lines and waste disposal facilities; its power systems; its public buildings; and its parks and recreation areas (Tarr, 1984, p. 4).

The coming together of these resources in different ways creates an assemblage and produces its own unique sociality. Shapiro claims that infrastructure cannot be viewed

solely in terms of its objects and functions and that this assemblage creates a distinct spatial and relational way of thinking. To describe this situation, he uses the concept of "urban stack," in which he combines the word "stack" borrowed from software production with the urban. According to him,

> As a heuristic, the urban stack allows us to see how disparate material infrastructures are juxtaposed in meaningful ways as platformic assemblages—how the objects, materials, human practices, technologies, and systems that make up the city can be enrolled in and assembled as looping systems of data flow (Kitchin & Lauriault, 2014). The stack's emphasis on topology presupposes a distinct spatial and relational way of thinking, in which "spatial problems depend not on the exact shapes of the objects involved but on the ways that they are put together, on their continuities, and cuts" (Shapiro, 2021, p. 27).

In this sense, everyday infrastructure is also weaponized in the hands of central state authority. Everyday infrastructures as weapons have both military and civilian impacts. In this sense, while on the one hand, infrastructure is a central authority service that some can benefit from and others cannot, on the other hand, the absence of these services becomes a weapon when infrastructure is directly targeted. Stephen Graham has critically explained the use of infrastructure as a weapon as follows:

> By sustaining flows of water, waste, energy, information, people, commodities, and signs, the vast complexes of contemporary urban infrastructure are the embodiment of Enlightenment dreams of the social control of nature. They are a prerequisite to any notion of modern civilization. And yet, at the same time, the potential for catastrophic violence against cities and urban life has changed in parallel with the shift of urban life towards ever greater reliance on modern infrastructures. The result of this is that the everyday technics, spaces, and infrastructures of urban life—highways, metro trains, computer networks, water and sanitation systems, electricity grids, airliners — may be easily assaulted and turned into agents either of instantaneous terror or debilitating demodernization (2007, p. 309).

After this long quote from Graham, it can be seen that infrastructure as a modern planning idea turns into a demodernization project or a destructive force through its destruction. In the next section, the body, which is another scenery in urban morphology, will be discussed.

4.1.3. Body

The knowledge of space is basically the knowledge of the human being who experiences - occupies - that space. In other words, space is the state of being experienced by a particular body, and in this sense, it is both the production of space

by the body and the shaping of the body by the produced space. Space, which is historical and, at this point, socially produced, can only be produced through mediation and is only meaningful in this context. In other words, bodily experience of everyday life is a set of practices that produce space and are produced by space. Lefebvre builds his theory of space precisely on this understanding. He states that

> There is an immediate relationship between the body and its space, between the body's deployment in space and its occupation of space. Before producing effects in the material realm (tools and objects), before producing itself by drawing nourishment from that realm, and before reproducing itself by generating other bodies, each living body is space and has space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 170).

The intrinsic notion that the human body both constitutes a spatial entity in its own right and simultaneously possesses an internal spatial dimension underscores the pivotal significance of the body in the intricate process of spatial production. This inherent symbiosis between the urban environment and the human body has been cogently examined by Steve Pile, as articulated in the following manner:

> There is some resonance between the spaces of the city and the space of the body which has something to do with the way in which (in this example) political power is mobilised, thus: either both the spaces of the body that sees and recognises and of the city that is conceptualised visually and spatially were brought into alignment through political power; or their alignment (for other reasons, such as advances in science) enabled a particular kind of political power to be effected (1996, p. 174).

We can trace the history of such a relationship between body, space, and politics back to the Ancient Greek city-states. In fact, Sennett (1996) mentions that the Athenians established a direct relationship between the body and politically charged structures in Ancient Greece. He says the Athenians "used their physiological understanding of the body to create the urban form" (Sennett, 1994, p. 50). One of the clearest examples of the body's convergence with politics can be seen through body movements in the spatialities of the Agora and Theater in Ancient Greece. The Agora is a space where bodies move simultaneously and establish different relationships by functioning as a kind of city square. The theater, contrary to the Agora, is a space where the practice of power is directly experienced. Sennett explains the difference between these two spatialities very clearly as follows:

> In the simultaneous and shifting activities of the agora, the babble of voices easily scattered words, the mass of moving bodies experiencing only fragments of sustained meaning. In the theatre, the single voice shaped itself into a work of art through the techniques of rhetoric; the spaces where people listened were so

> organized chat the spectators often became victims of rhetoric, paralyzed and dishonored by its flow (1996, p. 52).

These examples, which allow us to see the difference between designed space and lived space in the Lefebvrian sense much more clearly, are also valid for today's cities. However, the relationship between the body and the city has become increasingly complex. On the one hand, the increase in the human population and, on the other hand, the transformations in the urban form due to technological, economic, and social developments cause this relationship to be experienced very differently in today's cities than in Athens. The next section will focus on the different coordinate planes of this complex urban form.

4.1.4. Cardinal Points

When we think of space, we usually think of a set of areas on the Earth that we perceive in a horizontal context. Such a perspective is naturally normalized when we assume that destruction, war, and various forms of violence are usually experienced in this horizontal sphere on the ground. However, research on war, necropolitics, and urbicide - with the contribution of urban sociology and contemporary spatial theories - has shown that space also requires a much more comprehensive perspective that reaches from the ground to the sky. Surface, underground, sky, and time constitute the four main aspects of this comprehensive understanding of space. Since the concept of time will be discussed in more detail in the next heading, this section will focus on the first three cardinal points.

4.1.4.1. Underground: Archaeological Search

The first of the cardinal points is the subsurface as a geological formation. The subsurface is often the research domain of archaeology and is associated with the past. Archaeological excavations link past and present through the stratified remains of human communities. Graham talks about the content of these excavations as follows:

> Historic streets, tunnels, ports, industrial sites, foundations and religious and commercial buildings – the stuff of urban archaeology – are thus layered within and through the complex stratigraphy of waste, human remains, rubble, ballast and soil (2016, p. 330).

But when it comes to the city, Graham insists that the ground on which archaeological work is done has a different nature. For him, the ground in urban archaeology should be defined as artificial or manufactured ground. For cities have been rising for centuries on the ruins of cities and vanished urban cultures rather than on a natural agglomeration. In his words:

> Over centuries, large cities thus literally rise up on ground of their own making. They build their own geology and move up to levels considerably beyond that created by 'natural' stratigraphy. This level, in turn, tends to sink under the accumulated weight of the city and its continually growing manufactured ground. In other words, the 'city on the hill' – the deeply symbolic assertion of the power of cities to transform human fortunes – is often, quite literally, built on a hill of its own making. (Graham, 2016, p. 321-2).

This manufactured ground includes human bodies. In addition to cramped buildings and complex infrastructural systems, cities also contain spatialities such as cemeteries where human bodies that have lost their vitality are buried in specific areas. Today's cities, rising above past human populations, are, in this sense, necropolises. To refer to Graham again:

> Given that in nearly all urban cultures, burials take place below ground, these deep urban geologies are also the spaces housing incalculable numbers of previous urban populations. (It has been estimated that fully 6 million dead are housed with the extraordinary 200-mile network of tunnels, old quarries and to transform human fortunes – is often, quite literally, built on a hill of its own making. (2016, p. 322).

In the subsequent section, I shall transition from exploring Hades and pivot my analytical lens towards a meticulous examination of the spatial dimension inherent to Earth.

4.1.4.2. Land and Sea/: Horizontal Search

This section will expound upon two fundamental geographical constituents intrinsic to the horizontal plane. The first of these constituents pertains to the plains upon which human-built urban centers, constructed by terrestrial beings, are situated as a consequence of dynamic spatial interactions. The second constituent of consideration is the sea, a geographical element that historians, notably Braudel and Schmitt, have reproachfully accused of being overlooked within historical discourse and analysis.

As will be noticed, the two areas of investigation under consideration form a binary opposition referring to the two opposite poles of the horizontal plane. The political

theorist Carl Schmitt continues this kind of comparative analysis by further extending the binary opposition to the two main political powers of his time and the practices of their existence. Zeitlin (2015) lists these binary oppositions as follows: Earth (element) versus Water (element), Soil versus Ocean, Landpeoples versus Seapeoples, Land War versus Sea War, Behemoth versus Leviathan, Bear versus Whale, and Russia versus England (p. xliii). The binary here is not a symmetrical opposition, as the fundamental maxim of politics suggests. In fact, Schmitt begins by acknowledging at the very beginning of the book that humanity's relations with the earth are more rooted. That is why we call our planet the term Earth, referring to our deep-rooted history with the Earth (Berman, 2015, p. xvi). Schmitt extends this normative understanding of geospatial politics to the realm outside of social analysis, the sovereignty of water. Schmitt's analysis has also been decisive in the political understanding of war. Land war and sea war imply two different tactics of warfare and, thus, two different political positions. The main distinction between the two is whether or not the civilian population is included in the enemy status. The confrontation of two military forces characterizes land war, thus keeping the civilian population away from the targets of the war. In sea war, on the other hand, since the target of the war is the private sphere of the economy of the other side, the civilian population is directly the target and subject of the war. Schmitt's book states that: "It is grounded in the essence of these typical means of sea war that they may be directed at combatants as well as non-combatants" (Berman, 2015, p. xxiv).

The sea is treated as a historical object in Braudel's works. What Braudel, a historian of the Annales School, tries to do in his book on the Mediterranean is, in his words, another history (*une histoire autre*). The object at the center of his research is the Mediterranean, an inland sea. From its highlands to its plains, from its coasts to its wars, Braudel speaks of many individual histories. In his understanding, to write the history of a sea is to draw boundary and this practice of contouring "around anything is to define, analyse, and reconstruct it, in this case select, indeed adopt, a philosophy of history" (Braudel, 1972, p. 18). Braudel (1972) also performs reconstruction in other geographical and social elements that make up the Mediterranean in his comprehensive work on the Mediterranean. One of the most important of these and critical importance for our subject is the plains. Braudel mentions that it would be a

false inference to equate plains with abundance, ease, wealth, and good living (1972, p. 60).

Due to its geographical structure, the plains had to contend with floods, human agglomeration, and hygienic problems due to climatic conditions, as well as epidemics, perpetual irrigation, and swamp problems (1972, pp. 60-69). In the 16th century, some small and vital developments made the plains a more habitual space for people. Structural discoveries and inventions such as ditches, trenches, canals, and low-powered pumps, which were offered as solutions for the needs of towns experiencing a population explosion in this century, can be counted as the first steps of these developments (1972, p. 67). Along with all these developments, the growth of cities made these areas centers of attraction. With the developments in communication and transportation, the plains began to specialize in producing and distributing certain commodities rather than their agricultural and geographical wealth (1972, p. 82).

4.1.4.3. Sky/: Vertical Search

The sky is another aspect of the vertical understanding, other than the underground. Especially with the development of aircraft technology and the increasing penetration of satellites, no part of the world is safe from the panoptic gaze of the sovereign, including the sky itself. Graham explains this penetration or appropriation as follows:

> The key geographical idea dominating the world from the mid nineteenth to the mid twentieth centuries, after all, was that – following several centuries of colonial exploration, mapping and expansion by the dominant powers to fill in and claim the unknown territories of the earth – the horizontal and global extent of the earth's surface was both fully explored and fully claimed. Legally, no place could be left out of the world's system of solidifying sovereign states (a process completed after World War II with the colonial independence movements) (2016, p. 21).

But what might be called a bird's eye view, a two-dimensional view of the world from above, which is an extension of geopolitics, actually involves a horizontal perspective. This assumption that what is happening is still on the globe does not inform the vertical, as Weizmann rightly criticizes.

> Geopolitics is a flat discourse. It largely ignores the vertical dimension and tends to look across rather than to cut through the landscape. This was the cartographic

> imagination inherited from the military and political spatialities of the modern state (2002, p. 3).

Urbicide is perceived through a flat discourse regarding the area of destruction. However, with the development of the aforementioned technologies being just a panoptic gaze extension of the sovereign, today's disoriented wars expand the destruction to include the sky.

4.2. Time

the present is whatever is simultaneous with the assertion of its presentness, the future whatever is later than the assertion of its futurity, and the past whatever is earlier than the assertion of its pastness. […]

the event in question is present in the present, future in the past, past in the future. And it is clear that there is a vicious circle if we endeavour to assign the characteristics of present, future and past by the criterion of the characteristics of present, past and future.

McTaggart, 1908, p. 467-9

For the past is not now, and the future is not yet.

Augustine of Hippo, 1912, p. 239

The notion of time is one of the main debate topics in philosophy and science. Interest in science is linked to the idea that time, like space, can be quantified and manipulated and thus raises questions about its ontological character. Berg's "physical time-symmetry" (which originates in mechanical models) holds that time is the consistent accumulation of identical moments in sequence. Newtonian physics is the most crystalline expression of this point of view. In contrast to this mathematical conception of time, another perspective develops, which sees the essence as the accumulation of instances of differential performance. Berg describes this view as follows: "[it] arises when we attempt to account for the experiential and phenomenological perception of temporality which place time in subjectivity in contrast to the ontological objectivity of time" (2016, p. xii). The perception described here draws time into the realm of experiences, that is, into a performative plane. This method, made famous by relativity

theory in physics, accords with the philosophical assertion that time is ontologically subjective. The central tenet of this philosophical school is the rejection of the Newtonian account of time as consisting of identical now-points in favor of a description of time-based on performance as consisting of unrepeatable, unique moments. This conception of the aggregation of moments associated with praxis finds its most poetic expression in Saint Augustine:

> What is time then? If nobody asks me, 1 know: but if I were desirous to explain it to one that should ask me, plainly I know not. Boldly for all this dare I affirm myself to know thus much; that if nothing were passing, there would be no past time: and if nothing were coming, there should be no time to come: and if nothing were, there should now be no present time. Those two times therefore, past and to come, in what sort are they, seeing the past is now no longer, and that to come is not yet? As for the present, should it always be present and never pass into times past, verily it should not be time but eternity. If then time present, to be time, only comes into existence because it passeth into time past; how can we say that also to be, whose cause of being is, that it shall not be: that we cannot, forsooth, affirm that time is, but only because it is tending not to be? (Augustine of Hippo, 1912, p. 239)

This notion, known at the moment of performance and in which we are permanently present, takes a discrete position by escaping the act of signification when we try to talk about it and define it. This approach, which makes sense of time through performance, converges with the Hegelian understanding of history. The real is what has occurred, that is, what is acted. The knowledge of the moment can only be attained through action. Such a performative understanding will be useful in making sense of moments such as war, violence, and destruction where breaks in time are created.

Time, history, and memory are decoupled from the modern mind's standardized, quantitative, linear conception of time within the setting of this theory predicated on conflict and violence. A state of emergency is created in the Agambenian sense, where the law is suspended, and the legitimized judgment of the sovereign authority becomes unlimited. In this case, time takes on more Benjaminian significance as it is interpreted in light of the contrast between the two forms of violence. Benjamin's political theology distinguishes between *mythical* and *divine violence*. According to Benjamin, mythical violence is the projection of humanity's creation of a sovereign order based on law-making by creating fantasies. In this projection of violence, in which the notion of God is secularized, borders are drawn, prohibitions are imposed, and the law regulates. The concept of *divine violence* is portrayed as the opposite of mythical violence. When humanity's boundaries and rules are torn down, it marks its own

historical moment. Benjamin uses the anecdote of *Korah and Moses* to discuss the concept of Divine violence. The sad end of Korah, who rebelled against Moses, is one of the moments of Divine violence. Benjamin describes this tragic ending in the case of Korah as follows:

> God's judgment strikes privileged Levites strikes them without warning, without threat, and does not stop short of annihilation. But in annihilating it also expiates, and a profound connection between the lack of bloodshed and the expiatory character of this violence is unmistakable. For blood is the symbol of mere life. The dissolution of legal violence stems (as cannot be shown in detail here) from the guilt of more natural life, which consigns the living, innocent and unhappy, to a retribution that "expiates" the guilt of mere life – and doubtless also purifies the guilty, not of guilt, however, but of law. For with mere life, the rule of right over the living ceases. Mythic violence is bloody power over mere life for its own sake; divine violence is pure power over all life for the sake of living. The first demands sacrifice; the second accepts it (1996, pp. 249-250).

So, how do we classify violence that is sanctioned by military law? To rephrase the question, what does Benjamin have to say about the rip in time that is always caused by wartime violence? Here, Benjamin discusses the normative force of violence and, drawing parallels to Agamben's idea of the *state of emergency*, he identifies a temporal rupture that both upends the status quo and resets the rules. To quote him:

> The possibility of military law rests on exactly the same objective contradiction in the legal situation as does that of strike law -namely, on the fact that legal subjects sanction violence whose ends remain for the sanctioners natural ends, and can therefore in a crisis come into conflict with their own legal or natural ends. Admittedly, military force is used quite directly, as predatory violence, toward its ends. Yet it is very striking that even -or, rather, precisely in primitive conditions that scarcely know the beginnings of constitutional relations, and even in cases where the victor has established himself in invulnerable possession, a peace ceremony is entirely necessary. (Benjamin, 1996, p. 240).

Recent work on authority suggests that the Agambenian strategies of contemporary states are, at some point, violent practices that work against them. One of those who argue this is Wendy Brown

> has noted that increasingly bellicose and theatrical gestures towards state sovereign power – the very gestures of building walls and engaging in exclusions and bans that could be read as evidence that Agamben was right – may in fact spell its opposite, a desperate attempt to appear authoritative when non-state actors are undermining the state in profound and varied ways (Martel, 2012, p. 4).

In this part of the thesis, I will focus on the nature of time in relation to violence and how this strategic move undermines established authorities. Within the scope of this thesis, rather than theories of time, we will deal with its perceived form, namely the

concept of rhythm. This part of the thesis is dominated by the *postphenomenology* approach, which deals with the material, spatial and temporal together.

> Thinking phenomenology through the above mobilities paradigm – that enforces the role of the concrete materialities and corporeality, the multisensorial body, and human as well as non-human agencies, and their reciprocal relations – thus could benefit from some additional approaches. Mobilities, here, after all, are regarded as flows that 'are spatial, temporal – but above all, material.' (Shields 1997: 2.) The work here moves towards postphenomenology that expands the phenomenological lens from the human experience towards the materialities of the world and the body, and their co-constitutive relations (Tartia, 2020, p. 31).

Firstly, I will focus on the alternative ways of manifestation of time and history with reference to Manuel de Landa. Secondly, I will attempt to discuss the leading theories on collective memory as history lived in the present. Thirdly, I will argue monuments and monument-destruction where collective memory and space are discussed together. Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis thesis with the concepts of entropy and syncope will be the fourth sub-section of the chapter. The discussion on Finally, I will talk about the memory of the rubble and the rubbles of memory.

4.2.1. History and Time: Regular Sequences and Uniqueness of Each Regular Sequence

The tyranny of clock-time, a result of the modern mind's ability to classify and interpret the world in ways that make it quantifiable and controlled, has taken root as a Taylorist disciplinary tool under Capitalism. As Alhadeff-Jones puts it, "the rigidity, the coercion, and the regularity imposed through the temporal framework of industrialization" are the bedrock of this tyranny (2021, p. 22). Such a temporal framework is replete with the triumphs of kings and commanders, with a progressive view of history as consisting of calculable intervals on a linear plane.

The Neo-Kantian thinker Manuel de Landa creates a novel relationship between history, time, and society. For him, this unconventional technique represents a philosophical "non-linear" approach that "goes from the bottom up" and "rejects the core ideas of orthodox sociology" (2000, p. 18). Instead of showing evolution across time, his understanding shows history as a series of discrete phases that are combined in various ways. None of these parts is superior or beyond the other. Transitions do not refer to a stage but to specific phases, such as the solid, liquid, and gas states of

matter. In this setting, de Landa alludes to Iberall's arguments. The transition from hunter-gatherer to farmer to city dweller, as Iberall sees it, is hardly a straight line (de Landa, 2000, pp. 15-16; de Landa, 2002, p. 100).

Using Deleuze's ontology, De Landa proposes an alternative view of time that goes beyond the symmetrical conception of time or the irreversibility of physics that we examined at the beginning of the chapter. As de Landa forewarns,

> we need to conceive of a nonmetric time, a temporal continuum which through a symmetry-breaking process yields the familiar, divisible and measurable time of everyday experience. In particular, we cannot take for granted the existence of a linear flow of time already divided into identical instants bearing such close resemblance to one another that the flow may be regarded as essentially homogeneous (de Landa, 2002, p. 99).

According to de Landa's *non-linear conception of history*, we can speak of two types of conceptualizations of time. The first is what de Landa calls *extensive time*, "a flow of time already divided into instants of a given extension or duration, instants which may be counted using any device capable of performing regular sequences of oscillations" (2002, p. 99). For de Landa, this concept is based on the assumption that time is not like the time of classical physics, which is untouched by the activities and changes taken on inside it (2002, p. 100). On the other hand, intensive time is grounded on the nonmetric conception of time, with a focus on the uniqueness and distinctiveness of each moment. De Landa, who was inspired to make this argument by biologist Arthur Winfree, argues that in the "regular sequences of oscillations" mentioned in the extensive conception of time, each sequence has a uniqueness and particularity deriving from its intensive origin. We will see a similar reasoning in Lefebvre's theory of moments.

To what extent does a Lefebvrian intervention in De Landa's method, which is embedded in this new materialism movement, alter the resulting conception of time? De Landa's method, which is highly inspired by the ideas of thermodynamics and evolution, connects a crucial period in human history to the development of energy flows, rocks, and microbes. This work is informed by various disciplines, including current natural science (nonlinear dynamics, self-organization theory, artificial intelligence, and chaos theory), Deleuze's philosophy, and Braudel's history. Through the lens of the solidification, acceleration, and deceleration of matter-energy fluxes, this materialist history interprets the development of the physical, biological, and

sociocultural spheres. Thus, it views human history as a multifaceted process that has both broad and specific effects on the material environment in which it unfolds. When people congregate together with the rubble created during times of war and conflict, what type of social structure results? What type of urban shape will emerge when this energy flow experiences an arrhythmia or a syncope period? We will see if Lefebvre's theory of rhythmanalysis will help us understand this. However, I shall examine collective memory theories before diving into Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis.

4.2.2. Collective Memory

Within this chapter, my preliminary endeavor will be an examination of the theories proffered by three prominent scholars in the field of collective memory, namely Halbwachs, Connerton, and Nora. These scholars have significantly contributed to the intellectual discourse surrounding the multifaceted nature of collective memory. Subsequently, my analysis will shift its gaze towards the tangible loci of collective memory, notably archives and museums. These repositories and institutions are pivotal sites wherein collective memories are distilled and preserved, embodying the quintessential places that come to the fore when one contemplates the realm of collective memory. To culminate this chapter, I shall delve into the intricate issue of the transformation of collective memory into fetishized objects. This pertains to the phenomenon wherein the very essence and significance of collective memory are transmuted into objects of veneration, thereby warranting a critical appraisal of the implications and consequences thereof.

4.2.2.1. Collective Memory through the Optics of Halbwachs, Connerton, and Nora

Since the end of World War II, there has been an uptick in research into collective memory as a theoretical framework. The literature on collective memory has come together to explain phenomena as disparate as the rebuilding of post-Nazi Germany and the looting of historical relics in the Middle East's metropolitan centers. The founding figures of the literature, Maurice Halbwachs ([1950]1980), Paul Connerton

(1989), and Pierre Nora (1996), played an essential role in the conceptualization of memory as a social and collective notion rather than an individual one. Halbwachs rejected the dominant psychological discipline's definitions of cognitive memory and argued that memory is socially constructed through cultural differentiation. In the Preface to Collective Memory, Duvignaud expresses Halbwachs' theoretical contribution as follows:

> With Halbwachs, French sociology began understanding the implications of the Einsteinian revolution. Time is no longer the privileged and stable medium in which all human events are collected, similar to the meaning that light had for physicists in the past. Is it possible to speak of time in the same way as we speak of a fixed category of capacity for understanding? (2018, p. 13)

In addition to this slippery and imaginary conceptualization of time was the analysis of the relationship between memory and space. According to Halbwachs, "all forms of collective memory occur within a spatial framework" (2018, p. 174). The examination of the etymology of the term "vuku" presented in this context offers a captivating and novel path for exploration that intersects the domains of memory, war, and space. Derived from the same Arabic root (*wḳʿ*), *vakʿa*, *vuku, vukuat,* and *mevki* have both temporal and spatial connotations.

According to the Ottoman Turkish Dictionary authored by Yaşar Çağbayır (2017), the primary denotation of the term *vakʿa* (وقعه) pertains to armed conflict, namely war, combat, and warfare. The secondary connotation of this term refers to the repeated confrontation between two opposing factions within the context of warfare. Lastly, the tertiary signification of *vakʿa* encompasses a broader notion of event and occurrence. The phrase, when employed as an adjective, conveys the notion of "that which happens, that which occurs, that which appears." The term *vukû* (وقوع) is listed with the words "becoming," "occurrence," and "emergence" in the vocabulary of the same publication (2017). The term *vukuat* (وقوعات) carries a temporal implication akin to vukû and denotes the concept of occurrences or events. According to Çağbayır's (2017) definition, the term *mevki* (موقع) is associated with a spatial connotation. According to the dictionary's definition, the primary denotation of the term is "a location intended for descent or collapse," while the secondary connotation refers to "a site of happening or a place for creation of something." The space referred to here is used in an ongoing and socially constructed sense, just as time is socially

constructed. Like time, space is a socially produced construction that is conceived, designed, and lived in this sense (Lefebvre, 2014).

Another expression that reveals the relationship of memory and space with the object is '*tezahür*' (manifestation.) This expression, which refers to a moment of emergence, comes from the Arabic root *ẓhr*[42]: *The Sacred and The Profane: The Nature of Religion* (1987) as follows:

> It could be said that the history of religions-from the most primitive to the most highly developed-is constituted by a great number of hierophanies, by manifestations of sacred realities. From the most elementary hierophany-e.g., manifestation of the sacred in some ordinary object, a stone or a tree-to the supreme hierophany (which, for a Christian, is the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ) there is no solution of continuity. In each case we are confronted by the same mysterious act-the manifestation of something of a wholly different order, a reality that does not belong to our world, in objects that are an integral part of our natural "profane" world (Eliade, 1987, p. 11).

The streets, together with the home, are the most tangible manifestations of the two ways in which social memory interacts with the politicization process of space, as I explained in the part of this chapter titled *Streets and Boulevards or Pathways*. Since it's hard to keep such units under supervision, the street provides a plausible environment for creating the political.

In a similar vein to Connerton and Lefebvre's perspective, Pierre Nora "emphasizes the phenomenon of history, which is a conception of the past, not the memory acquired through vitality" (Sevinç, 2019, p. 52). With one of his prominent conceptualizations, *lieu de mémoire* (*places of memory*), he defines a space based on the archive and recording brought by modern thought. "Museums, archives, graves, collections, festivals, anniversaries, agreements, protocols, memorials, monuments, and sacred sites," in Nora's words, are locations of remembering since they do not include a lived experience and hence cannot be referred to as living memories (2006, p. 23).

Nora contributes to the argument on monuments and social memory from a broader political economics viewpoint, claiming that memory clings to space just as history clings to events. Similar to Critical Theory's concept of the *culture industry*, the

---

[42] In Çağbayır's *Ottoman Turkish Dictionary* (2017), *tezāhür* (تظاهر) means emergence, manifestation, appearance.

conceptualizations of the *heritage industry* and *archaeological display* refer to a sterile, surveilled, packaged past. The main purpose of *lieu de mémoire* is "to stop time, to prevent forgetting, to order things, to immortalize death, and to materialize immaterial [...] things" (Paulter, 2018, p. 202). In this sense, *lieu de mémoire* mummifies[43] things. While this is true for Nora, he recognizes that this process is not merely a means of establishing order within power relations. It is also necessary to mention the capacity of things to be given meaning, overwritten, and thus to form repeatedly possible and unpredictable connections. In Paulter's words, it is clear that the *lieu de mémoire* is successful even if we look at it only in terms of its capacity for change and its ability to resurrect old meanings and create new meanings with new connections (2018, p. 202). Cultural heritage and the economy of the display, which we will discuss later, are read through just such a framework.

According to Pierre Nora, memory signifies the present, not the past, because of the relation of its preservers to the present. Just as tombstones are built not for the dead but for those left behind, memory creates a present out of the past. Reconstructing the past through the memories of survivors, including the effort to remember and the distortion of memories, is historical research that employs human subjectivity. Hobsbawm, who discusses the aforementioned notion of *the economy of display* within the framework of nationalism theories, deals with it within a similar process of construction and creation. According to Hobsbawm, nationalism precedes the political organization called the nation. In this sense, monumental structures as invented traditions play a role in the construction of the nation and the political organization of people. Çoban establishes this connection as follows:

> […] this phenomenon encompasses socially accepted habits and practices that are ritualized and symbolic in nature. These habits and practices are repeated over a long period of time and at frequent intervals, internalizing the desired (national) values and norms while creating a sense of continuity by creating an artificial bridge between the past and the present (2020, p. 40).

In the initial years of the twenty-first century, it is discernible that the discourse surrounding social memory has experienced a notable surge, signifying the commencement of a particularly prolific epoch within this academic discourse

[43] For a further discussion on mummification, see Jackson, R. (2019). The 'Mummification of Culture' in Gramsci's Prison Notebooks. *Revisiting Gramsci's Notebooks*. Brill.

(Ricoeur, 2004; Misztal, 2003; Olick et al., 2011; Delbeke, 2017; Goonewardena, 2019). This period has been marked by heightened scholarly activity and engagement. Within this fecund period, a central research inquiry has crystallized, focusing on the interplay between the concept of the monument—expounded upon subsequently in this chapter—and its intrinsic relationship with modern thought, as well as its intricate intersections with the culture industry. This intellectual discourse aligns itself with a tradition of scholarship that traces its lineage back to seminal figures such as Foucault, Halbwachs, Connerton, Lefebvre, and Nora. Crucially, the discourse surrounding social memory in this era underscores the pertinence of the concept of discourse itself. Discourse, as the resultant amalgamation of texts and practices generated, disseminated, and assimilated through structures of dominance, emerges as a pivotal conceptual and analytical tool for elucidating the complex dynamics of power relations inherent in the construct of *social memory*.

4.2.2.2. Archive, Museum, and Counter-Archive

The discipline of archaeology, positioned as one of the intellectual instruments harnessed by the modern Western context for the construction of the nation's material essence, operates in tandem with the existence of monuments, which serve as tangible vestiges of historical epochs. These monuments, in their role as palpable remnants of bygone eras, allude to the intricately constructed national imaginary and historiographical narratives, as perceptively underscored by Hamilakis (2007). In this regard, Hamilakis engages in a nuanced discourse on the process underpinning the generation of the archaeological record, asserting the following contention:

> '[T]he archaeological record' does not exist as such: people in the past did not leave a record of their lives for us to discover, preserve (for future generations), and decipher (cf. Patrik 1985); what was left from their lives are material fragments (in the broader sense of the word) and it is archaeology that produces the entity we call the archaeological record out of these material fragments of the past (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 14).

Agamben, in his theoretical framework, delineates these tangible remnants as existing within an interstitial realm, situated betwixt (*in-between* state) the potential manifestations of language and the aggregation of these realized linguistic expressions. His conceptualization posits that:

> As the set of rules that define the events of discourse, the archive is situated between langue, as the system of construction of possible sentences - that is, of possibilities of speaking - and the corpus that unites the set of what has been said, 'the things uttered or written,' or 'the system of relations between the unsaid and the said' (Agamben, 1999, p. 144).

The archive, in this view, depicts the relation between unrealized possibility and recorded utterance within the limits of language. Agamben emphasizes here that we are subject to the limits of language as a system of utterances. Agamben argues that testimony is diametrically opposed to the archive because it has the potential to go beyond the bounds of language. For Agamben, moments of pure violence, where utterance is not possible, transcend the limits of language. In this sense, testimony as a performative act of becoming becomes "a potentiality that becomes actual through an impotentiality of speech" (1999, pp. 146). Let us look at what Agamben says about testimony through his own work:

> In opposition to the archive, which designates the system of relations between the unsaid and the said, we give the name testimony to the system of relations between the inside and the outside of language, between the sayable and the unsayable in every language - that is, between a potentiality of speech and its existence, between a possibility and an impossibility of speech. … Testimony is a potentiality that becomes actual through an impotentiality of speech; it is, moreover, an impossibility that gives itself existence through a possibility of speaking. These two movements cannot be identified with either a subject or with a consciousness; yet they cannot be divided into two incommunicable substances. Their inseparable intimacy is testimony" (1999, pp. 144-146).

Agamben's comparison between archive and testimony through *performativity* and *impotentiality* has also been addressed in the context of nationalism studies. We can talk about national historiography through the relationality established between what has been said or has the potential to be said and nation-building. In the formation of the national imaginary, the material productions of antiquity are presented within an imaginary narrative of time and history. Antiquity becomes not simply an object of research for science and history but the fulcrum of a nation's historicity. In the construction of national consciousness and its manifestation as a state institution, cultural organizations are necessary to point to the roots of that nation to its eternal existence. This process, which Hamilakis calls "the production of the topological imaginary of the nation," finds its most apparent representations in archives and museums. Through such institutions, with the help of archaeology, the constitutive narrative decides and displays what is monumental, what is a heritage to be preserved, and what is the nation's property (Levi, 2014, p. 131; Artun, 2019, p. 168). Authority-

defined experience of space and musealization practice, in that sense, are linked through the consumption economy of the urban. For Karababa-Demircan,

> Musealization, considered one of the main tools of the authority's practices on space, is examined as a process of dispossession and displacement. The subjective nature of experiencing the city is lost in a general and authority-defined experience of space. The museumization that takes place through projects to restore the historical texture of the city is closely related to the consumption policies of the economy, and the loss of the subjective experience in question also transforms the city into a commodity to be consumed by removing it from being a ground of social relations and a place of production (2021, p. 17).

The archive's connection to authority is not limited to the consumer economy. The archive is also spatially linked to power. Archives and museums are spatially located in the sphere of power. In the *second chapter of the thesis*, I discussed the importance of documenting and archiving from the victim's perspective, particularly during times of conflict and devastation. And in the same chapter, I also pointed out the risk of the archive turning into an apparatus of power. Here, I will focus on its relation to power through the spatiotemporal aspect of the archive. Derrida, who describes this relationality in the most striking way, says the following:

> the term indeed refers, as one would correctly believe, to the arkhein the physical, historical, or ontological sense, which is to say to the originary, the first, the principial, the primitive, in short to the commencement. But even more, and even earlier, "archive" refers to the arkhein the nomological sense, to the arkhe of the commandment. … The meaning of "archive," its only meaning, comes to it from the Greek arkheion: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the archons, those who commanded. The citizens who thus held and signified political power were considered to possess the right to make or to represent the law. On account of their publicly recognized authority, it is at their home, in that place which is their house (private house, family house, or employee's house), that official documents are filed. The archons are first of all the documents' guardians. They do not only ensure the physical security of what is deposited and of the substrate. They are also accorded the hermeneutic right and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives (1995, pp. 9-10).

The same principle extends to archival materials, which constitute an integral component thereof. Within this dynamic, the archival record asserts its authority over historical events by adjudicating their significance. In a manner akin to the archive, documents emerge as instrumental tools wielded by authorities for purposes of legitimization and the construction of historiographical narratives. However, this utility inherent in documents introduces the potential for a distortion in the relationship with reality. Ricoeur conducts a nuanced examination of this facet of documents by drawing illuminating parallels to the role played by monuments. Within the framework

of positivist historiography, the document serves as a foundational element of evidence, validating claims about historical realities. Conversely, monuments, bearing the vestiges of the past upon their structures, invite interpretation by the observer. Consequently, the performative nature of monuments stands in stark contrast to the document's preeminence as the empirical evidence instrument within the domain of empiricist history.

> The development of positivist history at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries marked the *triumph of the document* over the monument. What makes a monument suspect, even though it often is found in situ, is its obvious finality, its commemoration of events that its contemporaries - especially the most powerful among them-judged worthy of being integrated into the collective memory. Conversely, the document, even though it is collected and not simply inherited, seems to possess an objectivity opposed to the intention of the monument, which is meant to be edifying. The writings in archives were thus thought to be more like documents than like monuments. For criticism directed against ideology, which prolongs the criticism mentioned above concerning the setting up of archives, documents turn out to be no less instituted than monuments are, and no less edifying as regards power and those in power (Ricoeur, 1987, p. 68).

The archive, within the context articulated here, operates as a lens through which we can discern the intricacies of power relations governing the determination of what is deemed worthy of preservation, what may be relegated to the realm of inconsequential occurrences, and what shall emerge as pivotal events that shape the historical trajectory. Featherstone encapsulates this discernment as the *discriminating gaze* (2006, p. 594), underscoring the inherent selectivity and power dynamics inherent in the archival process. Theoretical endeavors to conceptualize how the archive functions as a conduit for transposing the past into the present, thereby legitimizing established authorities, hold significant relevance in the ongoing discourse surrounding history, testimony, and evidentiary narratives (Freshwater, 2003; Robertson, 2004). Given this structural umbilical connection to power, a fundamental question emerges: does the archive invariably serve as a historical record that aligns with the interests of prevailing power structures? Alternatively, can the archive transcend its entwined relationship with power? In other words, can the archive, in its essence, engender the emergence of a counter-archive? Culbert advances the notion of cultivating a *counter-archival sensibility*, particularly in contexts marked by catastrophe or violence. She articulates this argument as follows:

> As I define it, a 'counter-archival sensibility' is a sensibility informed by the belief that we live in 'broken time,' a time when the role once played by tradition has been,

> in the wake of catastrophe, assumed by archives. […] [Counter-archivists] do not participate [into the discussions on archive and its legitimizing role] because they reject the positivism that underlies the turn to archives as a solution to the crisis of modernity.' Instead of turning to artefacts and history to render final otherwise contestable claims, counter-archivists tell stories that realise the significance of random facts and chance events (Culbert, 2016, p. 16).

In a similar vein, Culbert's cautionary insights, as expounded in his exposition on the concept of a *counter-archival sensibility*, hold pertinence within the purview of this study. Analogously, Linfield's skeptical and critical examination of photography finds resonance in the contemporary milieu, where the prevailing ethos of the modern world tends to cast archives as the sole arbiters of reality. In this paradigm, anything or any event that escapes the archival process is consigned to the realm of non-existence, as if it were never part of the tapestry of existence.

Consequently, the archive emerges as a potent instrument of authority wielded by governmental bodies, vested with the power and prerogative to amass, preserve, and segregate elements of historical import. The political economy underpinning this exercise of power shall be subjected to a thorough examination in the forthcoming section.

4.2.2.3. The Commodification of History: Collective Memory as A Fetish

The burgeoning interest in the discourse of memory can be attributed to a confluence of factors, including the enduring reverberations of social traumas that punctuated the past century, characterized by some of the most catastrophic genocides and conflicts in human history. Nevertheless, Paul Connerton contends that the other, and perhaps even more significant impetus, lies in the intrinsic nature of modernity itself, which he discerns as a system of thought fundamentally predicated upon the act of forgetting (2021, p. 12). This form of forgetfulness, it should be noted, is achieved by the deliberate recollection and subsequent suppression of certain painful experiences, traumatic episodes, and pivotal historical junctures from the collective consciousness.

Current conventional wisdom concerning collective memory further underscores this paradoxical assertion, as it perpetuates the commercialization and fetishization of cultural heritage and historical values. This is palpable in the transformation of sites

historically marked by destruction and catastrophe into tourist destinations[44], the emergence of a market economy surrounding information related to genocide[45], subsistence commodification apartheid [46], and the conversion of catastrophic events into marketable products[47]. Holocaust tourism, which Reynolds (2016) designates as *dark tourism*, epitomizes this commodification of history, wherein political violence itself is transmuted into a product capable of constructing power structures (Woodward & Vianney-Higiro, 2015, p. 4). The most crystallized manifestation of this canonical disposition finds expression in international organizations such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe. These institutions exemplify the entrenched conventionality that pervades the contemporary approach to matters of memory and heritage.

> Since the 19th century, collective memory, which has been externalized in museums, libraries, and exhibitions in order to create a tradition, is being reconsidered on a new scale in the age of globalization, which accompanies the disappearance of the sense of the historical past and tradition identified with a particular location. Recent efforts to identify and preserve cultural heritage through canonization, pioneered and coordinated by supranational organizations such as the Council of Europe and international organizations such as UNESCO, should be counted among the hegemonic practices that reduce space. Thus, past, present, and future are similarly transformed into something that can be produced, accumulated, transferred, sold, and bought (Yelsalı-Parmaksız, 2019, p. 20).

By elevating collective memory to fetish status, this canon of fetishization of cultural heritage separates the act of violence from its origin. A witness's account of a violent incident is

---

[44] Intriguing cases in point include tourist visits to the still-radioactive Chernobyl catastrophe site. For instance, one travel agency advertises radiation-free trips to Chernobyl, promising visitors "personal experience of the disaster mitigation, research and success-story survival." See: https://chernobyl-tour.com/english/

[45] In their study on Rwanda, Woodward and Vianney-Higiro describe how narratives of violent events such as genocide gain exchange value and become market products. See: Woodward, W. R. & Vianney-Higiro, J. (2015). The Commodification of Genocide: Part II. A NeoGramscian Model for Rwanda. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 5*(5), pp. 1-9.

[46] O'Neill's master's thesis on gendered, ethnicized identities in the political economy of coffee is a case in point. See: O'Neill, K. L. J. (2007). *Subsistence commodification struggles and genocide in Rwanda: Gendered, ethnicized identities in the political economy of coffee.* [Master Thesis: The University of Guelph]. https://hdl.handle.net/10214/22487

[47] One of the iconic images from the 2020 Izmir earthquake was of a toddler being pulled from the ruins, and this picture was later used to create a mug that was sold on a well-known marketplace. See: https://www.linehaber.com.tr/trendyol-deprem-firsatciligi-yapilan-urunu-satistan-kaldirdi/#:~:text=Trendyol%2C%20İzmir%27deki%20depreme%20atıfta,e%2Dticaret%20fırsatçılığına%20alet%20edildi.

reduced to that of a mere consumer. Despite the fact that political bodies employ the destruction of violent moments' representations as a measure of discipline and control, this does not discount the reality that they have created even more corrosive techniques against collective memory. In the following paragraphs, I will talk about monuments as things that represent collective memory and how they are destroyed along with that memory.

4.2.3. Monument

In Swann's Way Proust argued that the past cannot be recaptured by any conscious effort. "The past is hidden somewhere . . . beyond The Culture of Time and Space the reach of the intellect, in some material object (in the sensation which that material object will give us) which we do not suspect," and we must wait until we chance upon that object to be able to recapture what it holds.

Kern, 1983, 57-8.

Renowned eighteenth-century antiquarians and protoarchaeologists[48] claimed that history could only be written/read through monuments (Delbeke, 2017, p. 1). Monuments, as artifacts that divide time into moments and establish a connection between each gaze and the moments, began to be referred to with expressions such as "cultural heritage," "historical monument," "cultural badge," and "social heritage" with modernity. In a capitalist system based on the nation-state, created by modern thought's idea of a rational world with clear boundaries, divided and shared, monuments are the embodied values of the national imagination[49]. According to

[48] The most prominent are Bernard de Montfaucon, Charles Rollin, and Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières, the most famous French historians of the period.

[49] Douglas Crimp takes Foucault's discussion of the relationship between new modalities of power and discourses and brings it to museums. In this sense, the spatiality we call the museum is a space and a means of subject creation, just like the prison and the hospital. The modern disciplinary society imprisons some people in incarcerative places, hospitalizes others in medical centers, and positions others as spectators in museums. Crimp puts it this way: "There is another institution of confinement ripe for analysis in Foucault's terms: the museum; and another discipline: art history. Together with photography, or perhaps more precisely, the repression and selective use of photography, they are the preconditions of the discourse that we call modern art" (1999, p. 45). A derivative of such an economic-political reading of museumization overlaps with David Harvey's conceptualization of competitive cities, where cities become the focus of investment. The "principle of complementarity," which finds a place in the production-indexed national economy of the nation-state, is replaced by an entrepreneurial and competitive understanding of governance that tries to get to the top of the pyramid within the context of globalization. One result of this is "brand cities" that are offered in competition in the market.

Foote's work on the material basis of human semiosis, human communication can never be completely abstracted from the material context in which it occurs, and every human action takes place in a specific environment of natural or manufactured material artifacts (1988, p. 243). In Foote's words

> Unlike verbal and nonverbal action, which is ephemeral and disappears as it occurs, the physical durability of objects, artifacts, and documents allows them to be passed from person to person and from place to place over long periods. Their durability defines them as communicational resources that can be used to transmit information beyond the bounds of interpersonal contact (1990, p. 379).

Within this particular context, monuments, distinguished by their enduring resilience as temporal artifacts, possess a distinctive quality that sets them apart from other material relics. These monuments, in contrast to conventional artifacts, encapsulate not only the temporal dimension of the present but also traverse the boundaries of past and future tenses. In essence, monuments, functioning as emblematic vessels of memory, assume a dual role in both shaping the construction of the past within the confines of the present and influencing the construction of the present with an eye towards the future. This intricate dynamic is eloquently encapsulated by Meltem Ahıska, who astutely observes, "Monuments deny death by giving life to the dead, but they also deny life since they are nothing but stones" (2011, p. 25). In this profound statement, Ahıska underscores the paradoxical nature of monuments, wherein they possess the power to immortalize the departed while simultaneously remaining inanimate objects composed of inert materials.

In *Memory, History, Forgetting*, which provides a solid background to the concept of memory - described by Hannoum as *the memory of memory* - Ricoeur analyzes the exploitation of memory and forgetting, which he considers a public duty (2005, p. 124). Ricoeur argues that memory is not only about historical events but can also be defined by the pragmatic aspects that transform it into a form of action. According to him, it is not a question of mentality or interpretation but rather a question of representation. This is both because the concept of representation is more refined, allowing him to make an important distinction between the *representation-object* and the *representation-operation*. This distinction, which makes a valuable contribution to the elucidation of the concept of monument, positions the representation-operation as a moment of doing history by differentiating it from the representation-object as a

moment of historical doing (Hannoum, 2005, p. 129). In this sense, the monument is not only spatial but also defined by historical conjunction.

In his monograph on monuments, Kanishka Goonewardena, similar to Ricoeur's distinction, defines monuments as "the condensed representation of space, time, and social relations." He refers to radical political uprisings as the moment when this representation intensifies. In such moments when contradictions crystallize, representation and symbol acquire a mythic meaning.

> If we observe the general behavior of archaic man, we are struck by the following fact: neither the objects of the external world nor human acts, properly speaking, have any autonomous intrinsic value. Objects or acts acquire a value and, in so doing become real because they participate, after one fashion or another, in a reality that transcends them. Among countless stones, one stone becomes sacred and hence instantly becomes saturated with being because it constitutes a hierophany, or possesses mana, or again because it commemorates a mythical act, and so on. The object appears as the receptacle of an exterior force that differentiates it from its milieu and gives it meaning and value. This force may reside in the substance of the object or its form; a rock reveals itself to be sacred because its very existence is a hierophany: incompressible, invulnerable, it is that which man is not. It resists time; its reality is coupled with perenniality (Eliade, 1957, pp. 3-4).

The obliteration of spatially embodied monuments, much like the inexorable passage of time itself, exerts a profoundly deleterious impact upon the tapestry of social memory. This deleterious impact at times transcends the mere physical damage inflicted upon monuments, extending to a profound sense of obliteration. As articulated by Varvantakis (2009) in the context of the dismantlement of the Palast der Republik, "the building is becoming a memory as it de-materializes" (2009, p. 27). Consequently, memory finds itself concentrated within the ruins brought about by destruction. In accordance with the formulation presented by Goonewardena (2019), monuments function as the "condensed representations of space, time, and social relations" (2019, p. 186), frequently emerging during moments of radical political upheaval. In this regard, monuments, as constitutive elements of social memory and indicators of its presence, do not exclusively belong to those who initially conceived them, nor do they dissipate entirely with the destruction of their physical manifestations. It is imperative to underscore the significance of radical upheaval in order to unveil the dual, and often ambivalent, nature of monuments, characterized by both revolutionary and conservative attributes. This duality is aptly encapsulated in Marx's statement from the *18th Brumaire*, wherein he expounds:

> And just when they seem engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of World history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language (1972, p. 10).

The "spirits of the past" that people call revolutionary *moments to* take place in the form of *mimesis* and are presented in a "borrowed language." On the one hand, people create a revolutionary moment through imitation with costumes, cries, or monuments. On the other hand, they use a borrowed language, indeed, the language of power that belongs to the past. The hope of getting out of the system that scholars of the Frankfurt School completely exclude in their discussions is materialized in the monuments in revolutionary crisis moments and via spirits of the past. This is to constitute the past in the present, making monuments independent of time. In that sense, they are *nostalgic*. However, the nostalgia expressed here is not understanding, which is fixed to the isolation of time and making it something consumable like in American usage of the concept. On the contrary, it is nostalgia that marks the flux that has been expressed, as in Seremetakis's evaluation of the Greek concept of *nostalgia*. Seremetakis distinguishes these two understandings as follows:

> nostalgia, in the American sense, freezes the past in such a manner as to preclude it from any capacity for social transformation in the present ... Whereas the Greek etymology evokes the transformative impact of the past as unreconciled historical experience' (as cited in Varvantakis, 2009, p. 36).

Again, in the words of Goonewardena (2019), "[m]onuments surely have proven to have lives beyond the desires of their creators, and even beyond those of their destroyers" (2019, p. 186). They have a layered existence in social memory. They carry their creators' desires, dreams, and disappointments in the spatiality they embodied, but from the first moment they are created, the dust of time begins to stick to every layer of their surface. The dust of time gains new meaning in the eyes of the viewer or the city-dweller, and this gaze drops dust on it again and again. This could be discussed in Lefebvre's description of the ambivalent nature of monuments. According to Lefebvre, monuments are the place of collective social life or symbolic representation concentrated in an object, and in this sense, they have unifying, productive, and positive features. In other words, with a Durkheimian reading, monuments are the precondition of the *social*. Lefebvre states that:

> *For the monument.* It is the only conceivable or imaginable site of collective (social) life. It controls people, yes, but does so to bring them together. […] The great monuments were transfunctional (cathedrals) and even transcultural (tombs). This is what gave them their ethical and aesthetic power. […] In their very essence, and sometimes at the very heart of a space in which the characteristics of a society are most recognizable and commonplace, monuments embody a sense of transcendence, a sense of being *elsewhere*. […] Throughout their height and depth, along a dimension that was alien to urban trajectories, they proclaimed duty, power, knowledge, joy, hope (2003, pp. 21-22).

Conversely, Lefebvre aptly underscores, within the discourse surrounding the definitions of monuments, that these very monuments bear an additional facet, one characterized by their potential for oppression, colonization, and the imposition of hegemonic norms. In the words of Lefebvre:

> *Against the monument*. The monuments is essentially repressive. It is the seat of an institution (the church, the state, the university). Any space that is organized around the monument is colonized and oppressed. The great monuments have been raised to glorify conquerors and the powerful. Occasionally they glorify the dead or the beauty of death (the Taj Mahal) in palaces and tombs. […] The extension of monumental space to habiting is always catastrophic, and for the most part hidden from those who are subject to it (2003, p. 21).

According to Lefebvre, the monument speaks from a specific spatial code, which also orders the bodies and organizes the space. This organization of space and bodies produces new subjectivities. Then, what kind of subjectivities and spatialities do monuments create when destroyed? And what kind of social memory is this in the new situation? In the next paragraphs, I will look to Lefebvre's idea of rhythmanalysis for insight into these issues.

4.2.4. Rhythmanalysis

The concept of rhythmanalysis was first used by Gaston Bachelard with reference to Pinheiro dos Santos. As a result of Lefebvre's impact, the idea gained traction and became a pressing area of inquiry in various academic circles. In the chapter on rhythmanalysis of the *Dialectic of Duration*, Bachelard (2016) defines rhythm as one of the properties of matter, just like waves. Lefebvre, however, criticizing a Bergsonian ontology of *durée*, shifts towards a discontinuous rather than continuous understanding of time. The following is how Brighenti and Kärrholm convey this breakneck idea: "Duration is rhythmic, made of discontinuities between moments of

effort and moments of rest, where time features as, alternatively, a resource (affordance) and an obstacle (wall)" (2018, p. 5). And they are still going strong:

> First, whereas Bergson had emphasised temporal continuity (duration) and Bachelard opposed to it 'evental' discontinuity (dialectics), Lefebvre highlighted that the two aspects must coexist. Indeed, a rhythm introduces both a qualitative difference between moments (discontinuity) as well as, simultaneously, a single movement that leads through the moments and connects them (continuity). In other words, the first insight is that rhythm itself is a special struggle between continuity and discontinuity (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2018, p. 7).

In this sense, rhythmanalysis does not only focus on repetitive associations but also sheds light on the difference that comes with repetition in these associations. Therefore, the concept is expanded with the new situations, moments, and territorializations produced, which is also one of the focal points of this thesis. Lefebvre's idea, that wherever there is rhythm, there is measure, and therefore law, obligation, and design, is extended to disorder and discontinuity. Like abstract space in Lefebvre's spatial triad, the metric conception of time is independent of experience and the social perception of time. A watch is only a visual depiction of equal-value moments consisting of equally spaced temporal segments that repeat each other. With the following remarks, Elden argues that Lefebvre's ideas of time and space converge:

> as non-calculable, as resistant to abstracting generalisation and in need of being understood as 'lived', is the same as his more well- known critique of prevalent ways of comprehending space. Just as Cartesian geometry is a reductive way of understanding space, so too is the measure of time, the clock, a reductive comprehension (2004, p. xi).

The realm of human experience and social production, it must be recognized, comprises a series of recurring yet distinct temporal moments that possess unique qualitative attributes. In this context, the emphasis extends beyond the individual moments to encompass the very intervals that demarcate them. Alhadeff-Jones elucidates the notion of rhythmic time as follows:

> Accordingly, rhythm does not provide us with an abstract measure of time (as a watch); it gives it a concrete and oriented reality. From that perspective, whenever people experience time through their perception of rhythms, they may pay attention not only to perceivable changes (e.g. intensification inherent to some forms of acceleration), but also to what separates them: the interval itself (e.g. nothingness, blank, silence, and emptiness), quantitatively as a near zero intensity, but qualitatively as a significant element of the temporal experience (2021, p. 26).

Lefebvre shares Bachelard's rhythmic appreciation of time. He approaches time, which Augustine of Hippo could only make sense of in practice, as seen in the

epigraph, in a heterodoxy where biological, psychological, and social rhythms interact. For Lefebvre, time has both quantitative and qualitative characteristics. Its intensity, frequency, and energetic expenditure make it measurable. Time's homogeneity is shown in its quantifiable divisions into discrete units such as hours, days, years, and seasons. In such a linear repetition, Lefebvre says, realizing each beat's formal and material identity would result in boredom and fatigue. But if you have a qualitative grasp of time, you can hear the individuality in each of these beats. "Dawn always appears to break for the first time," Lefebvre explains.

Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis examines the rhythms perceived by the concrete presence of bodies rather than a system closed by abstract definitions. In this sense, the movements of the body and the space experienced through it are analyzed like the subject of an archaeological study. It is when the individuals attribute to the movement the feature of reiteration that become the abstrusity about spatiotemporal becomings. On this theoretical ground, where Lefebvre's conception of space and time becomes materialized, rhythmic reading transforms spaces from things, objects and products into experienced relations. It is the traditional way to think about the reiterated phenomena as the same or in a successive way but to continue to think that they are different moments and distinctive experiences. In the rhythmanalysis of Lefebvre, this reiteration is not the iteration of the same thing as in traditional thinking. Evoking the concept of creative reiteration of, Butler, who discusses this conceptualization in her theory of performativity, states that reiteration is a delusion that creates the illusion of production of sameness. However, "Clearly, whatever seems to happen always 'again,' unavoidably and necessarily, happens, in fact, only once. Repetition as a socially meaningful diagnosis describes an inherently impossible condition" (Stavrides, 2010, p. 44). The rhythm, in that sense, is not the reiteration of the quotidian activities on the spatiotemporal scale. Still, it hinges on the very differentiation of the former and latter one's spatiotemporal positionings. As Stavrides puts it

> In recognizing rhythm as an active means of understanding repetition, Lefebvre points out the dialectic between sameness and otherness. It is human memory that enables us to recognize the rhythmical. Memory does not have a particular role to play at the extreme limits of linear, mechanical rhythm, because "mechanical repetition works by reproducing the instant that precedes it" (ibid. 79). However, when rhythm connects differentiated time periods, memory is essential to retain the sense of repetition. […] Perhaps, then, we can recognize the rhythmical quality of differentiation rather than repetition (2010, p. 45).

As such, rhythmanalysis is an empowering method that seeks the freeing disruption within the mundane and repetitive in order to break free from the oppressive and exploitative control of time and space. Here, the repetition itself becomes a possibility of transformation. This perspective, which Dakka and Wade refer to as "the philosophy of life," is defined as follows:

> Published posthumously (1992) as the fourth and final chapter of the Critique of Everyday Life, the rhythmanalytical project is concerned with researching the production of human nature, to liberate it from the cages of technocratic reason, capitalistic exploitation and oppressive control. Rhythmanalysis is essentially conceived as a transformative method, as an emancipatory philosophy of life and as political credo. Its Marxist and Heideggerian foundations reverberate throughout his oeuvre, where notions of everyday, alienation, appropriation and dwelling recur with rhythmic cadence. To become total persons, according to Lefebvre, we must avoid the 'fetishism of the partial' and re-appropriate the time-spaces of our own existence (2019, p. 191).

Lefebvre moves from the abstract concept of time to a concrete and experiential conception of time in which the sensory is materialized. Taking lived experience as its main focus, this approach adds identity politics and the construction of the subject to the conceptualization of time. Considered in the context of social relations, this approach discusses individuals as spatialized beings on the one hand and as becomings on the other through the "qualitative moments created by rhythms" pointed out by rhythmanalysis (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2018, p. 2). Chen discusses rhythmanalysis as

> foremost a materialist philosophy that creates certain dispositions of configuring subjects, the locus of action and social agents, in ways that radicalise debates of identity politics which takes the 'subject' as pregiven and autonomous. In the optic of rhythmanalysis, the method of identification is to find assemblages of rhythms that have the capacity to make vivid the sensing of rhythms through a process of materialising the sensory (2016, p. 3).

Lefebvre calls his conceptualization of time with the possibility of transformation the *theory of moments*. According to Chen, rhythmanalysis, as a research tool and also a philosophical practice, points to "the philosophical problems of temporality, history and the phenomena of change" (2016, p. 20). Against the reductive approach of measurable time, Lefebvre emphasizes the importance of qualitatively differentiated instantaneous things. This differentiated moment, which Nietzsche (1954) identifies with a blink of an eye (*Augenblick*), is, in Elden's definition, "a gateway where past and future collide, and the image of the eternal recurrence" (Elden, 2004, p. x). For Lefebvre, rhythms are constellations, and these constellations come together in

different ways. In the next subsection, I will focus on the different types of rhythm Lefebvre points to within the framework of rhythmanalysis.

4.2.4.1. From Rhythm to Arrhythmia: Different Mobilities and Dressage

The bodily embodiment of rhythm is not lost on Lefebvre. The body is shaped according to the rhythm. On the other hand, it is the body that shapes the rhythm. Within such a dialectical understanding, Lefebvre establishes the same relationality between time and body as Foucault's relation between body and space in *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1995). In Foucault's (1995) theory of *power*, body, and space are in a productive political relationality, and from a disciplinary relation of power, docile bodies that are compatible with the system are produced. In Lefebvre, automatism and repetition are strategic means of producing docile bodies. Lefebvre calls this situation *dressage*.

> Revealing the tensions between the enabling and constraining potential of rhythm management, such accommodation may also be conceived as produced by techniques and strategies to ensure that bodies accord with and conform to dominant rhythms, a process Lefebvre terms 'dressage'. The regulation of moving bodies includes strictures that organise arrival and departure from work at specific times, the Taylorism of managing workers' movement on production lines, as well as the obvious drills and marches imposed by disciplinary military procedures. Lefebvre discusses how the breaking-in of individuals by enmeshing the body within an assemblage of instructions, spaces, uniforms, architectures, classifications and mechanical apparatuses may (re)produce 'an automatism of repetitions' (2004: 40) that enlist docile bodies into required manoeuvres (Edensor, 2014, p. 166).

On the other hand, Lefebvre also states that this rhythm management has an emancipatory potential. This emancipatory possibility, which manifests itself, especially in *arrhythmia*, is manifested in Lefebvre's different definitions of elements of rhythm. Lefebvre basically talks about three different elements of rhythm: *polyrhythmia*, *eurhythmia*, and *arrhythmia*.

If we start with the idea of polyrhythmia, we see that it is actually a condition of the social. "A unity that encompasses a multiplicity," as Chen puts it in his book *Practicing Rhythmanalysis*, is how he characterizes polyrhythmia (2016, p. 5). The symphonic presence of objects, in Lefebvre's view, is not simply the coming together of objects to form a mass. According to him, each object has its own rhythm in its own

historicity (past, present, future). Objects that come together in their own rhythms constitute the multiplicity we call the social. This view, which takes time out of being a space allocated to the subject, creates certain associations, assemblages in which objects coincide with each other within their own rhythms.

Eurhythmia is the harmonic realization of the aforementioned assemblages. This harmonic unity brings with it normalizing and naturalizing features. Reid-Musson argues that this kind of unity is, therefore, "the product of repetition and dressage" (2017, p. 4). Stability in the rhythm creates a normalizing effect; just like in training, bodies are trained to become docile.

Arrhythmia, on the other hand, is defined as the opposite of Eurhythmia, "the discordant coexistence of rhythms" (Tartia, 2020, p. 45). Chen uses the words pathology, crisis, and disorder to define arrhythmia and says that arrhythmia "orchestrates the rejection of rhythmic alliances while one makes the other impossible" (2017, p. 5). Continuing with Chen's statements, arrhythmia, which "reveals the interruptions of social alliances that lead to the contradiction of rhythms," "occurs when fatal desynchronization causes disease" (2016, p. 5). Tartia says that arrhythmia also makes rhythms visible by their very existence. That is, where the rhythm is disrupted, the presence of a rhythm is signaled. In his words, Lefebvre "notes that rhythms usually become visible only when there is a break or interruption in the ordinary and expected: 'In arrhythmia, rhythms are fragmented, desynchronized and jumped'" (Tartia, 2020, p. 19).

The concept of arrhythmia offers an important opportunity to understand the moments of rupture created by moments of violence, such as war and destruction. It both disrupts the polyrhythmia that makes the social possible and, on the other hand, it interrupts the normalizing effect of the dominant rhythm. Arrhythmia, in this sense, signifies an absence. But as we quoted above, the absence of the rhythm makes the rhythm itself visible, and what goes on with it is not the same as before: Either a pathological process has begun with the arrhythmia, or a new page has been turned in the music notebook. Arrhythmia, in this sense, is a state of time that tends towards disorder, crisis, and uncertainty. In order to strengthen this concept, I will continue with two concepts rooted in the fields of thermodynamics and music.

4.2.4.2. Entropy and Syncope

In order to grasp the idea of time presented in this thesis, it is now essential to get familiar with Bolztmann's (1995) notion of *entropy*. In its simplest terms, entropy measures irreversible changes in a system. The unidirectional motion of such processes fundamentally depends on the laws of thermodynamics. According to the fundamental rule of thermodynamics, the total amount of energy in a closed and isolated system must be constant. That is to say, in the absence of any external influences, the amount of energy available remains unchanged. According to the second law of thermodynamics, which is associated with entropy, even if energy remains the same in a closed system isolated from external factors, some of the energy is not converted into work. Therefore, in every work, a part of the energy is lost and does not turn into work. This loss in the sense of work is called *entropy*. Boltzmann's (1995) crucial contribution was to link time and entropy.

Boltzmann pondered the following: if time is a unit of measurement, what exactly was it measuring? His approach holds that the asymmetry of time is analogous to the asymmetry of thermodynamically irreversible processes. Sklar gives the following explanation for this parallel:

> Thermodynamics describes the time-asymmetric changes of systems as the systems evolve from states that show macroscopic nonuniformity of such properties as density and pressure, into states that are uniform in their macroscopic features. These last states then show no further changes. This is the approach to equilibrium of an isolated system started in nonequilibrium, a change characterized formally by the *time-asymmetric* increase in the system's entropy (2015, p. 47).

In other words, Augustine's statement, "For the past is not now, and the future is not yet," that the future is "not yet ready, coming" as opposed to the past's nature of "passing and not coming back" is an important assumption for thermodynamics. According to Boltzmann, just as "there is no more or less in space," the claim of "forward" or "backward" temporally is not true.

However, for the unique world of an ordinary person, the occurrence of improbable states relative to probable states is too rare to be grasped. In other words, for a unique world where time flows in a certain direction, the more probable events continue to occur, while the nonoccurrence of improbable states within that structure determines the direction of events. For example, we do not throw a broken egg against the wall

and hope it will take its old form. Because in this scenario, we have a situation we observe a state in which integrity before is broken. Such irreversible states create the experience that time has only one direction and that the irreversible state is the past, the detected state is the present, and the possible states are the future.[50] Entropy measures the disorder in these possible states. Therefore, the concept focuses on the disorder and its quantification. At the microscopic level, in particular, entropy has its roots in the principles of uncertainty. This approach, which focuses on disorder based on entropy instead of the deterministic understanding in physics, aligns with the understanding of the fractures of time we are dealing with in this thesis. Such moments of loss and disorder, called social entropy, help us understand uncertainty in war-torn cities and the world of possibility it creates. Although social entropy offers quantitative and mathematical use, it will be used in this thesis to explain the disorder and uncertainty experienced in moments of destruction. When entropy is high, that is, when disorder and uncertainty are high, temporal breaks, such as syncope, also manifest themselves. For example, in bio-medical studies, it is mentioned that entropy is high in cases of vasovagal syncope, a fainting state. Therefore, in situations where disorder and uncertainty manifest themselves, the concept of syncope becomes important to make sense of the ruptures experienced in urban wars.

Richard Sennett, writing from a very different angle, signifies a connection between syncope and the social. Sennett (1996, pp. 164-8) explains how a 14th-century surgeon, as a consequence of his surgical trials, termed the body's responses to the agony of the Other a spirit of communion, as described in *Henri de Mondeville's the Discovery of Syncope*. De Mondeville defines syncope as an emotional response to suffering, a compassionate reaction. De Mondeville elaborates on the source and potency of syncope in the following lines:

> Syncope occurs in the following way in healthy men witnessing terrible surgical operations: the fear they feel pains their heart; there is a sort of meeting of the general chapter of the spirits, so that, they being gathered together and stimulated, the vital force of the heart is succoured (as cited in Sennett, 1994, p. 166).

Here, de Mondeville applies the idea of syncope in a manner that is considerably different from how it is often used in modern medicine, music, and other fields.

[50] https://understandinguncertainty.org/another-look-entropy

Notable is his focus on the bodily pain, the encounter with the Other that is engendered at the moment of the violation of body integrity, and the construction of the social as a consequence of the rupture that occurs with this violence. The remarks of de Mondeville make it very evident that there is a sociality associated with destruction. Predictably, the inherent repetitiveness characterizing quotidian existence, coupled with the meticulously structured spatiality replete with surveillance and control mechanisms, conspire to engender docility among individuals within this system. Paradoxically, however, this very domain of everyday life, in the Lefebvrian sense of comprehending routine, also furnishes a terrain conducive to forms of resistance. The examination of this analytical stratum assumes heightened significance when scrutinizing the transformative dimensions inherent in cases of turmoil and upheaval that manifest throughout periods of conflict-induced damage. This critical dimension of analysis shall be further elaborated upon in the ensuing section.

4.2.5. Rubbles of Memory

For what would I say, O Lord my God, but that I know not whence I came into this dying life (shall I call it?) or living death.

Augustine of Hippo, 2006, p. 5

In the prologue to the Turkish translation of Yannis Hamilakis' work, *The Nation and its Ruins,* Edhem Eldem adeptly underscores the striking congruences existing between Greek and Turkish perspectives on symbols. In the context of this discussion, he articulates the following observations concerning the nuanced relationships that nations maintain with ruins:

> […] archaeology and ruins are not the only way to imagine a nation. In contrast to Greece, which felt or was made to feel that the ruins belonged to it from the beginning, countries that do not have 'national' ruins or that are unable to translate the tangible traces of their past into a 'national' dimension, intangibles such as folklore, religion, symbols, and legends can easily replace material ruins[51] (2007, p. 23).

[51] Original text: "Bu mukayeseden anlayacağımız, ulusu hayal etmenin tek yolunun arkeoloji ve harabelerden geçmediğidir. Başından beri harabelerin kendine ait olduğunu hisseden veya hissettirilen bir Yunanistan'a karşılık, "ulusal" kalıntılara sahip olmayan veya elindeki geçmişin somut izlerini bir türlü "ulusal" boyuta taşıyamayan ülkeler için folklor, din, simgeler, efsaneler gibi soyut olgular rahatlıkla maddi kanıtların yerine geçebilmektedir. Aslında tüm bunların birleştiği ortak payda, tarihî bir kurgu oluşturma çabasından başka bir şey değildir."

The dimensions of space and time are conventionally regarded as primary foci in the analysis of urban destruction. However, it is important to clarify that these dimensions do not align with Kantian pure a priori forms of sensible intuition that primarily serve to delineate the contours of reality. Instead, they manifest as two of the four principal determinants that collectively shape our understanding of reality. Much like the dimension of space, the dimension of time assumes paramount significance, and in the ensuing discussion, we shall draw upon the theoretical contributions of Giorgio Agamben, Walter Benjamin, and Henri Lefebvre to elucidate its critical role. Within the ambit of this exposition, the primary focus shall be directed towards the concepts of the "state of emergency" and the "state of exception," with particular emphasis on the discourse mediated by Stavrides concerning the notion of the "threshold." This concept, inextricably linked to the state of exception, is articulated by Stavrides as follows:

> Historically, the state of exception describes moments or periods during which law is suspended in the name of society's protection from internal or external crucial threats. During a state of exception, authority (a sovereign authority) is justified in taking such a decision (to suspend the law) in its promise to reinstitute law and order as soon as the threat is eliminated. This situation however, according to Agamben, reveals what is essential about authority: the legitimated ability to decide when and for how long the law will be suspended. In this act, authority reveals itself to be the precondition of law and not vice-versa (2010, p. 32).

In essence, the state of exception represents the process through which the exception itself becomes normalized, a pivotal circumstance deeply intertwined with the pressing concern of urbicide. The act of war and the ensuing devastation inflicted upon the urban landscape, orchestrated with deliberate intent, effectively constitute the embodiment of this normalization of disarray and the absence of conventional norms. This environment generates its own set of rules and standards, a distinct form of normalcy. Within the framework of my analysis, this dimension, characterized by the normalization of normlessness and the formulation of its own set of norms, a determination orchestrated by the forces of necropower, shall stand as the paramount dimension in our quest to define the concept of urbicide.

In Walter Benjamin's conceptualization, the conventional, linear understanding of time and history undergoes a profound transformation, evolving into a spatially juxtaposed configuration that effectively ruptures the established, linear paradigm of temporal and historical development. This transformation consigns the masses to the role of orchestrators of seemingly meaningless and vacuous practices, all within the

framework of a modernized mentality. As aptly observed by Nurdan Gürbilek in the introductory section of *Son Bakışta Aşk: Walter Benjamin'den Seçme Yazılar,* "messianism was a vision of the future based on the total rejection of the existing world, seeing hope only in a future that could be built on the ruins of this world, in other words, postponing hope to the day of judgment[52]" (2012, p. 19).

What unifies these three historical moments is the pivotal role played by traces—or, more aptly put, traces serve as the instrumental conduits that offer opportunities for reshaping the future through a profound engagement with the past within the context of the present. These traces, while inherently shaped by societal constructs, remain far from being comprehensively realized in their import. It is within this intricate social fabric that they acquire a distinctly political character, becoming objects of contention and struggle. As articulated by Eagleton, "[trace] reminds us that the business of erasing, preserving, or rewriting traces is always one of political struggle, a struggle in which the object itself is no mere paper tiger" (1981, p. 34). Consequently, traces should not be perceived as passive remnants or mere vestiges of the past. Instead, they serve as dynamic bridges that traverse the temporal expanse, seamlessly drawing the past into the present.

This transformative process hinges significantly upon the interpretation of those who engage with these traces (*collector*) or those who undertake the task of rewriting history from the vantage point of the present (*historian*). From the perspective of Eagleton (1981), the central issue is not limited to a superficial act of rubbing or inscribing surfaces. Rather, it revolves around the profound recognition that all objects are *written* in their deepest being, internally constituted by the changing script of their social relations, which never adds up to a fully coherent text" (1981, p. 32).

As one might anticipate, traces hold the profound capacity to invoke memory, particularly collective memory, in times of upheaval—a phenomenon eloquently captured by Benjamin under the rubric of *illuminations*. In this context, traces assume the pivotal role of serving as conduits for the recollection of memory during these revolutionary junctures. To this effect, Eagleton aptly posits:

---

[52] Original text: "mesihçilik, varolan dünyanın tümüyle reddine dayanan, ancak bu dünyanın yıkıntısı üzerine kurulabilecek bir gelecekte umut gören, bir başka deyişle umudu kıyamet gününe erteleyen gelecek görüşüydü."

> If we were able to recollect our ancestors, then in a moment of shock we might trigger the unpalatable memory trace at a ripe time, blast through the continuum of history and create the empty space in which the forces of tradition might congregate to shatter the present. That moment of shock is socialist revolution (1981, p. 78).

According to Benjamin's perspective, Haussmannization epitomizes a spatial design intent on eradicating revolutionary imprints while simultaneously preempting their resurgence. An orchestrated order is established within this homogenized spatial framework, effectively yielding sanitized experiences. In alignment with Benjamin's viewpoint, Kardeş expounds upon Haussmann's plan as follows:

> Haussmann designs a space where he can rule the city in a despotic way. He presents an aesthetic in which everything is the same, in which ambiguity is expelled from the space, and, in particular, in which the elements that would ensure the continuity of memory with the city's past are eliminated. [...] However, this order does not only rely on simple domination; it also reconstitutes the power apparatuses of the same order. Therefore, those in power pursue the construction of space hostile to collective remembrance. The transformation of space constitutes the initial phase of constitutive violence[53] (2023, p. 70).

This prompts an intriguing question: what transpires when these traces, bearing a pivotal role as historical facilitators, are subjected to destruction, devastation, and obliteration? Does their eradication from the historical tableau signify a forfeiture of the potentiality to access a revolutionary juncture? In essence, does urbicide entail not only the obliteration of physical spaces but also a manifestation of power's intervention aimed at the suppression or deferment of the revolutionary moment?

Giorgio Agamben is the one who manages to combine time and space in his analysis with reference to the concepts of *state of emergency* and *camp*. We can better understand how this contributes to the urban literature with the words of Stavrides:

> What this phobia, deliberately spread throughout the world, is adding to the status of metropolitan public space is the inauguration of a state of emergency with no apparent end. Checkpoints become metastatic, police blocks punctuate the city, public sites are heavily guarded, immigration control is everywhere. Wars, mostly generated by outside brutal interventions, cause massive movements of people. Checkpoints are always there to identify, separate and subordinate helpless people by ceaselessly searching for the "infiltrating terrorist." Security, elevated to the status of the most important goal, justifies these metastatic control points as markers

---

[53] Original text: "Haussmann kenti despotik bir şekilde yönetebileceği bir mekân tasarlar. Her şeyin aynı olduğu, belirsizliğin mekândan dışarı atıldığı ve özellikle de kentin geçmişiyle hafıza sürekliliğini sağlayacak unsurların ortadan kaldırıldığı bir estetik sunar. […] Ancak bu düzen sadece basit hakimiyet kurmaya yaslanmaz, aynı düzenin iktidar tertibatlarını da yeniden oluşturur. Bu yüzden, muktedirler kolektif anımsamaya düşman bir mekân kurgusunun peşindedirler. Mekânın dönüşümü kurucu şiddetin başlangıç safhasını oluşturur."

> of exception. This situation, however, is in essence concretizing a potentially coherent new model of governance in the making. […] The state of emergency turns out to be a test. What will be a new mutation of the partitioned city is justified by recourse to exceptional conditions that demand exceptional measures, measures that suspend basic recognized civil rights" (2010, p. 31).

As it can be understood from the quote, what the theories and their successors which have arisen in the violent atmosphere of Nazi Germany take as the main problem is that the exception spreads to the social itself: we are talking about constitutive violence. In terms of our grid of analysis, the point of view here has the following significance: exception, destruction, and violence now play a constitutive role, and spatiality, respectively, is explained by the concepts like "camp" that refer to highly symbolic area which has a reference to nothingness.

4.3. War

Look, the photographs say, this is what it's like. This is what war does. And that, that is what it does, too. War tears, rends. War rips open, eviscerates. War scorches. War dismembers. War ruins.

Susan Sontag, 2003, p. 7

The concept of war has a broad rhyme or reason in the commonsense and different variations among the theoretical efforts. This overuse and overrepresentation of the concept resulted in inflation in the meaning of the concept. In that sense, it is important to draw a theoretical and conceptual framework of war in order to understand the destruction of urban space and rhythm by a necropolitical power mechanism within the context of war. In my argumentation of urbicide, space, time, power, and war are the four anchor points describing the violence against the city. Urbicide, in this sense, is the killing of the city by a necropolitical power as a result of war. In this part of the chapter, I will tackle the fourth dimension, namely war, in order to understand the trajectory of the mindset that shaped today's wars.

In this section, I will first focus on the idea of war, which is a broader framework of meaning, before going into the concept of war discussions in the theoretical sense. Within this context, one of the first questions asked in the chapter is, where does the idea of war stretch, or in other words, what are the endpoints where the idea's origins touch? The idea of war was commonly interpreted as militaristic and technologically

inflamed by its excessive use within this conceptual framework. But what I'm trying to do here is to question the idea of war beyond this militaristic and technological definition. This effort involves a conceptual expansion from necropolitics to surveillance, from eugenics to war discourses. In that sense, I will argue the phenomenon of war and how to conceptualize this organized violence in terms of our research topic. Although the idea of war is inherent in the human experience, starting with the history itself, in this paper, the concept of war is taken as a modern concept that is mainly discussed in the field of International Relations (IR) and also recently started to receive attention in the political sociology and sociology of war with reference to the classics of the literature. The idea of armed conflict with a strong emphasis on the territory is mainly related to the rise of the nation-state and the mentality of territoriality that it brought. In the words of Charles Tilly, who has writings on the issue of coercion and capitalism states, this relation (the relation between the idea of war and nation-state) points out that "war made the state and the state made war" (as cited in Bousquet, 2012, p. 183). In other words, the Peace of Westphalia, with which the nation-state phenomenon is first described and recognized in an international agreement, is the starting point of modern war. Within the context of the present study, I have chosen to focus on the theoretical precursors of the concept of war.

After the introduction part, I will deal with the idea of war with its epistemological roots and its variations. At the outset, addressing a general overview, I will discuss how war and violence are deeply intermingled. With reference to modernity, the concept of war will be discussed its relation to the modern mind and its offspring, technological thinking. I will continue with the arguments on the relations of war, modernity, ideologies, and technology. As a result of this modern mindset, eugenics, and surveillance are the boundary points that the concept of war is based. As a subheading, I will debate the idea of *Enlightenment*, *Eugenics,* and *surveillance*. Before moving to the theoretical grounds of war literature, a prior issue must be taken up. I will end the first section of the chapter with the war discourses dominating the war literature.

The third section of the chapter will be related to the classics of the literature on war with their main conceptualizations and methodological anchors. Sun Tzu, a Chinese general and strategist, is the first figure of the pioneers of war literature. His definition

of war with reference to "chance and friction" will be argued in the first part (Berger, 2013, p. 3). The second figure will be Carl von Clausewitz's inspiring analysis of war which is examined with the dimension of space and population and finds its accurate expression in this statement that "war is an extension of policy by other means" will be discussed (as cited in Bousquet, 2012, p. 185). In the next section, the theory of Carl Schmitt will be argued in detail in order to formulate a fulfilling and apposite definition and description of war in terms of the concept of urbicide. For Schmitt, the war cannot be separated from the terra with all its references to nature. There is a particular focus on the territory with the concept of the *tellurique* character of the issue. After Schmitt's perspective on war, the fourth subsection, the scholarly literature on new wars/postmodern wars, will be presented. In this section, the question will be whether or not the epitome of war has changed significantly with technology and new power mechanisms. Lastly, Paul Virilio will take the stage in his analysis of speed and war concerning the rhythm of life. For him, the redefinitions of war, terrorism, and city in the age of technology "are, in turn, bound up with deeper shifts in the ways in which time, space, technology, mobility, and power are constructed and experienced in our societies as a whole" (as cited in Graham, 2004, p. 4).

The fourth part of the war section continues with the war and its reflections regarding the fundamental aspects of organized violence. Under this heading, I will start with the discussion of *Economics of War*, which will deal with the aspect of class in the war literature, i.e., the relationship between war and infrastructure and class construction. Plus, I will deal with the issue of the war industry and how the military has become a firm throughout modernity. In the second part, I will handle the issue of nationalism regarding its relation to the roots of war. The third sub-section will focus on the gender dimension with a specific focus on women's role in the context of war, receiving the gender as socially-constructed. Especially feminist literature on war will be reviewed. The main discussion points will be everyday violence, wartime sexual violence, motherhood-war relation, women as warriors, and women's role in the post-war period. The next section will review media and war relations concerning peace journalism and war propaganda. Before moving to the *Thing Theory* regarding war and object relation, I will deal with the enclosure and border studies to see the side effects of "walled states" (Brown, 2010). Lastly, in the section *Object of War*, I will handle the "Thing Theory" of Bill Brown (2001) with reference to Bruno Latour's

sayings on inanimate objects. As a last point, I will argue the collocation of war literature with the concept of urbicide. In other words, I will ask whether it is possible to put limits on the definition of the concept of war in order to describe urban destruction as urbicide.

Photography of ruin is a way to show an "illusion of reclaiming" the photograph "from the further effects of nature and time – that is, from death" (Roth, 1997, p. 17). Many documentarists, journalists, artists, and social scientists with different purposes have photographed the damage the Middle East cities underwent. Like the other materials and things, they propose a semiological link between the war and the city; they put it differently, warfare and the urban structure. The illusion of reclaiming turns out to be an illusion of politics. Just like taking a photograph has unlimited angles and ways of seeing, analysis of a photograph also has infinite ways of interpreting and ways of seeing. Caroline Brothers is one of the scholars who studied the relationship between photography and war and put forward a semiological model to understand this relationship. For Brothers, one of the rhetorical devices is the "antiphrasis," which means "employ[ing the objects] in unaccustomed roles, or to accumulation, signaled by confusion and disorder" (1997, p. 112). In the process of antiphrasis, there arises the antilogy. It is because of the inner contradictions like life and death, still and

Figure 9: Kiss, Gustav Klimt (1908)
Oil and gold leaf on canvas; 180 cm × 180 cm (71 in × 71 in)
Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna, Austria

motion, past and present. In that sense, through these ontological contradictions, the photography of ruins opens up new ways of seeing and analyzing (in methodological sense). As evidence of a particular historical moment with a specific background, the photographs resemble "the scenes of crime," as Walter Benjamin puts it (as cited in Brothers, 1997, p. 114). For Tim Edensor,

> photographs are […] for the visual provokes other sensory responses. The textures and tactilities, smells, atmospheres and sounds of ruined spaces, together with the signs and objects they accommodate, can be empathetically conjured up by visual material in the absence of any realistic way of conveying these sensations, other than through words and images (2005, p. 16).

In Tammam Azzam's art, a Syrian artist producing a "hybrid form" of art-making, street art as the representation of the ruination of Syria has been employed within many places of Syria. In the catalog of one of his exhibitions, it is stated that "Azzam cleverly reconfigures iconic symbols into poignant reflections of the turmoil facing his countrymen and the neglect of the world to their plight" (2013, p. 6). His *Freedom Graffiti* (2013) pinpoints how art is powerful to show the "inner contradictions" by "provoking other sensory responses." This is art-making through ruins. In the photograph of graffiti, there is a building, mainly used for a living (there are some symbols and remarks about the everyday life in this building, like the remnants of the

Figure 10: Freedom Graffiti by Tammam Azzam (2013)
Source: The Series the Syrian Museum
Lightbox 75 x 75 cm (Edition of 5)

furniture and other materials lying down in the building), with holes and bullet marks created because of the war in Syria. In the background is the shadow of the war with all wreckage and ruins. The ruin represents the destruction of space and memory and is also the artist's expression. Azzam turns the ruins into artwork by digitalizing the art piece of Gustav Klimt[54] (*figure-9*). As Özkan Agtaş stated in his *Ceza ve Adalet*, "behind all the gilding and glitter that he generously distributed to his paintings was a subtle insistence, accompanied by a fair amount of anxiety, on the representativeness of what remained in the dark and what was destined to remain so[55]" (2013, p. 13). Tammam Azzam continued the insistence on what Klimt produced as the "representativeness of what is left in the dark and what is left as such", which he saw with colors and symbols (*figure-10*). Holes and bullet marks have become a part of the couple's clothing (angled ones for the male and circular ones for the female), as in Klimt's *Kiss*, the gray of the building has changed with the vibrant colors of the original tableau. The symbols of spring and nature in various parts of the painting sharply contrast with the rest of the artwork. In that sense, it is not only the reproduction of the painting of Gustav Klimt but the regeneration and reproduction of the meaning, which will open up new possibilities of a universal kind. In the catalog, it says:

> Gustav Klimt's The Kiss is superimposed atop the facade of a bullet-ridden, crumbling building as though it is street art. Through the building's gapping holes, the remnants of homes that once held memories, friendships and love stories are visible. Yet Azzam is quick to reiterate that Klimt's often-misunderstood painting is not a depiction of a romantic relationship, but rather an embrace that represents a universal love between mankind in its entirety (2013, p. 6).

Art has its own power: it helps to "utilize the forms of thinking and forms of representations that the arts provide as a means through which the world can be better understood (Barone & Eisner, 2012, p. xi). The debris, holes, marks, and ruins are part of the artwork. With colors, imagination, and the power to change, art makes a ruined building turn into a piece of art. As Edensor stated:

---

[54] An Austrian painter, and representative of Art Nouveau. Klimt is an artist of eroticism, symbolism, and rebellion, especially with his three paintings on the ceiling of the Great Hall of the University of Vienna.

[55] Original text: "[r]esimlerine cömertçe dağıtmış olduğu bütün o yaldızın ve parıltının gerisinde, karanlıkta kalmış olanın ve de öyle bırakılması vazediliyor olanın temsil edilebilirliğine dair, doğrusu bir hayli endişenin de eşlik ettiği incelikli bir ısrar yatıyordu"

> graffiti ranges from the wall-to-ceiling coverage of all planes in a riot of colour, turning buildings immersed in the grey and brown hues of dereliction to spaces adorned with multi-coloured effusions of names and cartoons, to the crude daubing of football and music slogans and gang names; and from the humdrum inscriptions of obscure tags and monikers to the detailed, complex works of graffiti 'artists' (2005, p. 33).

Certainly, the passage excerpted from *Industrial Ruins: Spaces, Aesthetics, and Materiality* (2005) provides us with a discerning perspective on the conceptualization of war. It engenders an alternative perspective that departs from the conventional purview of classical political economy, transcending the realm of utility or exchange value. In alignment with this alternative outlook, Judith Butler contemplates these variances in the context of their framings, offering the following insights:

> For alternative frames to exist and permit another kind of content would perhaps communicate a suffering that might lead to an alteration of our political assessment of the current wars. For photographs to communicate in this way, they must have a transitive function, making us susceptible to ethical responsiveness (2009, p. 77).

Any comprehensive analysis of warfare and its impact on urban landscapes necessitates an initial immersion in the contemplation of ruins, the residue of conflict, the scars left by bullets, the machinery of destruction symbolized by bulldozers, and the pervasive pallor of desolation. Much like Azzam's evocative artwork (*figure-10*), each definition and interpretation is etched upon these ruins, serving as the canvas upon which the narrative of this analysis shall unfold. It is this enduring motif that shall propel our exploration in the forthcoming section of this thesis.

The definition of war varies with different methodological anchors and standpoints, and reaching a rigid and complete description is hard. However, even considering these theoretical and methodological variations, we must agree that war is a social reality. It is because, as Siniša Malešević dwells on, "as any successful violent action entails organization and as organized action requires collective coordination, hierarchy and the delegation of tasks, all warfare is inevitably a social event" (2010a, p. 3). Therefore, war is a violent organizational social phenomenon. Ertan Kardeş, known for his studies on Carl Schmitt and contemporary wars described as "disoriented wars," adds one more determinant to the rough definition of war: its political characteristic. He states that

> War as a form of struggle requires a nuanced definition of struggle. War is, above all, a struggle of subjugation between the combatant forces of two political units. [...] War is an activity of mutually escalating tension between two belligerent parties, of

> subjugation of will. It is based on the limits of violence. [...] [W]ar is an activity that tends towards unlimited violence. [...] War itself, then, appears as a border/limit/barrier situation between politics and violence[56] (Kardeş, 2019, p. 18).

In this light, it is impossible to draw a line between violence and war. When it comes to war, the first images and figures that come to mind are those related to violence. Of course, violence cannot be explained only by war. Apart from war, violence exists in various forms and dynamics. Simply put, "violence comes with intent, the willful decision to harm another" (Nordstrom, 2004, p. 60). The etymological roots of violence go back to the Latin word for force.

> Violence has its roots in a concept of force, hence the primary dictionary definitions of violence: 'the exercise of (physical) force'. It is derived from the Latin noun *violentia* ('vehemence', 'impetuosity') and the adjective *violentus* ('vehement', 'forcible', 'impetuous', 'violent') and it appears to have become an independent word in Anglo-French and Old French some- where around the fourteenth century (Schinkel, 2010, p. 19).

It is proper to expand the definitions of violence from violence against women to violence against nature. Pogroms, massacres, and assassinations have been the most visible faces of violence. One of the most well-known expressions of violence belongs to Walter Benjamin. For him, violence is the immediate manifestation of power. "Every power creates its own violence together with its law. Here, violence is the direct instrument of law and order-making" (Çelebi, 2010, p. 265). In other words, *auctoritas non veritas facit legem*[57].

From a different perspective, Byung Chul Han claims that violence is a sort of exercise of rule based on religious experience. He states that prehistoric people turned external forces that frighten them into totemic objects or mumbo jumbo (Han, 2017, p. 19). For Han, there is a topological transformation at the end of prehistoric times. This

---

[56] Original text: "Savaş bir mücadele biçimi olarak, mücadelenin özel bir tanımını gerektirmektedir. Savaş, her şeyden önce iki politik birliğin muharip güçlerinin arasındaki bir boyun eğdirme mücadelesidir. […] Savaş muharip iki taraf arasında yapılan, karşılıklı olarak gerilimi yükselten, iradeye boyun eğdirme etkinliğidir. Şiddet sınırlarına dayanır. […] [S]avaş sınırsız bir şiddete doğru yönelen bir etkinliktir. […] O halde savaşın bizzat kendisi politika ve şiddet arasında bir sınır/limit/bariyer durumu olarak belirir."

[57] It is an apothegm from Hobbes' Leviathan, meaning "Authority, not truth, makes law." Hobbes argues that "it is the authority of the sovereign power (the summa potestas) that gives law its legitimacy not its relation to reason and truth" (Collison, 2020, p. 10).

"structural change in violence" is related to foundational differentiation in the form of sovereignty. He states that sovereignty

> withdrew into subcommunicative, subcutaneous, capillary spaces within the psyche. It shifted from the visible to the invisible, from the direct to the discreet, from the physical to the psychic, from the martial to the medial, and from the frontal to the viral (Han, 2017, p. 16).

In that sense, individuals internalize power and normalize violence. Michel Foucault is the one who takes his area of investigation research in the context of biopolitics. With the emergence of military science, modern society became militarized through a new form of power whose central fulcrum is the body. At the end of the century, the figure of a soldier emerges. In the words of Foucault:

> By the late eighteenth century, the soldier has become something that can be made: out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed; posture is gradually corrected; a calculated constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, mastering it, making it pliable, ready at all times, turning silently into the automatism of habit; in short, one has 'got rid of the peasant' and given him 'the air of the soldier' (1995, p. 135).

It goes without saying such lines of argumentation differentiate between the war dynamics and acts of violence. A power mechanism that Damiens experienced, transforming the form of punishment from the body to soul and focused entirely on discipline, sees war as a problem and tries to equalize it directly by making docile subjects. Reid argues that this transformation appeared in the modern age as if

> The modern project of solving the problem of war, of eliminating the phenomenon of violence from within and between societies by exercising power over life directly, has entailed the most profound implications for the ways in which the definition of human life, its essential needs, interests and desires has been conceptualised within liberal societies themselves (2013, p. 6).

In essence, war assumes an ever-present existence within our societal fabric. At times, it manifests in conventional forms characterized by overt violence, yet its influence permeates every facet of existence, extending its reach from the realm of media to the vernacular of everyday discourse. As expounded upon in a subsequent chapter, this overarching mechanism of power, which extends its dominion even beyond the threshold of mortality, finds expression in the concept known as "necropolitics."

> In doing so, he [Foucault] challenges the assumption that war disappears with the development of civil society and law; instead, he argues that 'beneath the law, war continues to rage in all the mechanisms of power, even in the most regular'

> (SMBD[58], 50). In Foucault's analysis, war is not only something that happens between two sovereign political powers; it is also 'a battlefront [which] runs through the whole of society, continuously and permanently, and it is this battlefront that puts us all on one side or the other' (Morton and Bygrave, 2008, pp. 1-2).

Bracketing these debates about the essence of war and violence and asking "why war occurs", we come to a critical threshold in the war literature. To answer why there is war, one must have responded to what distinguishes war from non-war. In Jack Levy and William Thompson's book, called *Causes of War* (2010), they discuss how to define war clearly, i.e., to differentiate war from non-war events. For Levy and Thompson, war must be distinguished from interstate conflicts and other forms of violence. They define war "as sustained, coordinated violence between political organizations" (2010, p. 5). This sustained and coordinated violence, according to them, has some unique features. The first one is a form of violence that "involves the use of force to kill and injure people and destroy military and economic resources" (2010, p. 5).

The second feature is the adjective "sustained". War is a violent act involving sustained violence. The next character of war is related to the adverb "between" in the definition, as mentioned earlier. It must be a reciprocal act between two or more political organizations: the two forces must be involved in the act of violence. Plus, to the reciprocity of the act, the actors in the war are not the individuals but the collectivities like organizations. But these organizations are the political ones with an apparent reference to Carl von Clausewitz's principal argument on war as a continuation of politics. Lastly, the main difference between war and organized violence is: The latter is "limited in its magnitude or impact", whilst the former is described with its sustainability. According to this perspective, war is a violent phenomenon that takes place between two political forces. This classic and limited definition includes major world wars and certain inter-state organized acts of violence and excludes other types and degrees of violence. Levy and Thompson's understanding as a perspective in line with the rational and categorizing logic of modernity with a clear and limited definition has been widely discussed by scholars who find a relation between modernity and war.

---

[58] Foucault, M. Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976.

4.3.1.1. Modernity, and Technology of Death

The modern century is defined as an age in which humanity has reached its end by "using the rational mind in peace" with the enlightenment and rational mind behind it. Enlightenment thinkers claimed that with the modern and rational mind, humanity would come up with perfectibility. Justice, production, and rationality, for those philosophers, would put out of sight violence. For them, barbaric practices had a background of irrationality and tradition. It is because they argued that "modernity stood above all tradition and culture: it was a configuration of pure reason" (Lawrence, 1997, p. 2). This mode of consciousness, having a universal connotation, surmounted the industrial revolution, and new technologies came with the new era. According to Philip Lawrence, this resulted in an intellectual transformation in Western thinking. In his own words, "In the West, this material revolution in the economic circumstances of society was accompanied by an intellectual transformation based on a variety of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment narratives of progress" (1997, p. 33).

Modernity, associated with technology and innovation, has spawned techniques, tools, and productions that are largely incompatible with the freedom mentioned above, justice, and production-oriented arguments. For example, the output of war technologies and tools, which completely transformed the 20th and 21st centuries, has resulted from the production of such a mind. From this perspective, war is a technological product that can be seen from the technology produced by the modern mind, and the scientistic way of thinking created by this situation facilitates. Malešević argues that:

> The modern era is also responsible for the invention and perfection of many mass-slaughter devices from the guillotine and machine gun to nerve gas and nuclear bombs. Concentration camps, gas chambers, electric chairs and elaborate torturing techniques were all masterminded in this era (2010, p. 120).

Lawrence further contributes to this discourse by highlighting the transformative impact of military-inspired technologies, which have reshaped everyday life and rendered warfare a defining aspect of subsequent eras. An illustrative example is the advent of the railway during the 19th century, which wrought a complete overhaul of warfare logistics (Lawrence, 1997, p. 27). Moreover, the invention of the telegraph facilitated the coordination of "mass military actions" (Lawrence, 1997, p. 27). In addition to these 19th-century innovations, the introduction of weaponry such as the

"breech-loading rifle, the colonial bullet, breech-loading artillery, the machine-gun, and smokeless gunpowder" significantly contributed to the formidable nature of war as a constitutive force (Lawrence, 1997, p. 28). Among the iconic symbols of modernity, Lawrence identifies the emergence of airpower as a pivotal development in the arsenal of death-dealing technologies. This innovation injected fresh momentum into mass-killing campaigns, thereby ushering in the potential for "complete global destruction" (Lawrence, 1997, p. 32). By the conclusion of the 20th century, especially with the advent of digitalization, one can discern a diversification in the array of technological tools for taking lives. This diversification has engendered an illusion of distancing the act of killing from individual responsibility. Ertan Kardeş elucidates this phenomenon as follows:

> This speed and revolution will create new figures in military affairs: Drones, mercenaries, corporate armies, etc... Just as the plastic age has begun to produce a network of relations based on social fragmentation and impermanence, it is leading to a similar transformation in military affairs[59] (2019, p. 44).

A consequence of the modern era's embrace of rational thought, the 19th century bore witness to a momentous surge in the development and sophistication of warfare technology, along with the concurrent evolution of military organizational strategies. Building upon this discourse, Foucault ventured further, expounding upon a novel form of power and its intrinsic connection to the process of militarization. For Foucault, a profound and constitutive linkage exists between the sciences governing military organization and the emergence of disciplinary power, which lays claim to absolute control over all aspects of existence. In this light, he characterizes the 19th century as a tumultuous epoch marked by regimes' "holocausts on their own populations" (Foucault, 1990, p. 137). According to Foucault, the essence of *disciplinary power* resides in the pervasive influence exerted by military technologies and techniques, as they underpin the foundations of numerous institutions that constitute modern life, permeating even its capillaries.

> This militarisation of men, the making of soldiers, via 'the supervision of the smallest fragments' of their life and bodies, functions for Foucault as a disciplinary model that describes in essence the mechanisms of a then developing social machine

[59] Original text: "Bu hız ve devrim, askeri işlerde yeni figürleri ortaya çıkaracaktır: Dronlar, paralı askerler, şirket-ordular vb… Nasıl ki plastik çağ, toplumsal bir parçalanma ve geçicilik üzerine bir ilişkiler ağı üretmeye başlamışsa yine aynı şekilde askeri işlerde de benzer dönüşüme yol açmaktadır."

> to which all would become gradually subjected 'in the context of the school, the barracks, the hospital or the workshop, a laicized content, an economic or technical rationality for this mystical calculus of the infinitesimal and the infinite' (Reid, 2013, p. 22).

The transformations wrought by this paradigm shift did not go unnoticed and were a subject of intense scrutiny by 20th-century intellectuals. Enlightenment criticism exerted a profound influence on thinkers like Adorno and Horkheimer. Reason, which had originally aspired to objectivity, found itself, under the sway of Enlightenment ideals, mired in a profound state of violence and warfare. This climate of violence and warfare compelled intellectuals of the era to probe the origins of this absolute violence.

During this period, theorists—especially those who had borne witness to the stark realities of absolute violence in Europe—drew comparisons between the nature of dictatorship and the Enlightenment's rationality, wherein even the most abstract phenomena could be subjected to calculation and even chance occurrences (friction) could be meticulously planned. For instance, Adorno and Horkheimer astutely observed parallels between the approach of a dictator towards their subjects and the manner in which scientists approached their subjects of analysis (2002, p. 6). As industrialization and its attendant cultural shifts unfolded, the Enlightenment, heralded as the "advance of thought," "inculcates the conditions on which implacable life is allowed to be lived at all" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 123). This culminated in the proliferation of the destructive facet of Enlightenment through its *techne* and *episteme*, eventually metamorphosing into absolute violence at the hands of dictators. According to Kardeş,

> As philosophers of the crisis-era generation such as Adorno and Benjamin have often argued, reason has not destroyed violence by taming it; on the contrary, it has produced violence in unpredictable ways. Even the human imagination, which is supposed to be capable of construction beyond reason, has felt powerless in the face of reason's destructive organization.[60] (2019, pp. 10-11).

They even come so far that, for them, even the separation between subject and object is a manifestation of the domination of enlightenment. The subject has all the power over the object: the mastery achieved over nature will turn into inter-human

---

[60] Original text: "Adorno ve Benjamin gibi kriz dönemi kuşağı filozoflarının sıklıkla ortaya koyduğu gibi akıl, şiddeti ehlileştirerek onu yok etmemiş aksine şiddeti öngörülemez biçimlerde üretmiştir. Öyle ki insanın, akıldan her zaman ilerisini kurabildiği söylenen muhayyilesi, aklın tahrip edici örgütlenmesi karşısında kendisini çaresiz hissetmiştir."

domination. In this sense, the modern age has witnessed more violent scenes than ever before. The predicted human betterment could not be achieved for millions of people and caused great destruction. By comparing this situation with previous eras, Malešević reveals how valid an argument is as such:

> with modernity violence and warfare are proliferating at unprecedented levels. The total tally of twentieth century deaths caused by organised violence constitutes nearly 75 per cent of all war deaths for the last 5,000 years (Eckhardt 1992: 273). In other words, in 100 years modern human beings have managed to kill twenty-two times more people than our predecessors were able to do in 4,900 years. […] Put simply, this means that the modern era (the last three centuries) accounts for 90 per cent of all war casualties from the beginning of proper warfare in 3000 BCE to the present day (2010, pp. 119-120).

With reference to Eckhardt and Köhner's (1980) crucial empirical study on wars and war deaths in the 20th-century world, Malešević (2010a) argues that this unpredictable state of violence and war, modernity conceals at its very core, ultimately shaped the social life of the 20th century. Modernity defends the right to control society with its ideas of progress and rational reasoning.

This notion of progress bears a striking resemblance to the concept of eugenics. The term "eugenics" originates from the fusion of the Greek words *eu* (meaning good or well) and *genesis* (meaning creation). This conceptual framework, propounded by Francis Galton, fundamentally encapsulates his thesis on improving the human condition. In Galton's perspective,

> Eugenics is the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage. The improvement of the inborn qualities or stock of some one human population will alone be discussed here (1904, p.45).

Focusing more on class and race, this theory establishes a constitutive relationship with modernity. In the words of Marius Turda, "[e]ugenics should be understood not only as a scientistic narrative of biological, social and cultural renewal but also as the emblematic expression of programmatic modernism" (Turda, 2010, p. 2). The idea of progress coupled with rational and systematized scientific thinking conjugated with eugenics' scientistic ethos. Thus, society turned into a nation described as the "object of scientific regulation and expertise" (Turda, 2010, p. 6). This process, then, turns into a matter of recognition. In such a way, eugenics draws the limit of acceptance (who will be accepted and who will not), health, and nation. The ones outside the

borders are characterized as the possible enemy. These limits are the signs of life and death; i.e., depending on which side you are on, you get the right to live. Similar to eugenics, modernity has a recognition problem and enforces limits to the definition of the modern and traditional. The former had the right to be accepted: the latter must be extinguished. For Malešević (2010a), this modern and eugenic mind differentiates the modern age from the previous periods because of its "systematic, organized and prolific" mass extermination in the times of "human life is nominally most valued" (Malešević, 2010a, p. 120).

Norbert Elias, who points out the monopoly of violence formed in the West as an essential turning point, defines the monopoly of physical violence as one of the *socio-technical inventions* of the human species (Agtaş, 2013, p. 168). For Elias,

> One aspect of the problem was first seen by Max Weber. He pointed out that states are characterized by the respective rulers' claiming a monopoly on physical violence. This means that we live in an organization where rulers have at their disposal groups of specialists authorized to use physical violence, if necessary, to prevent all other citizens from using violence. This monopolization of violence, for whose development I have presented an explanatory model in the second part of my book of civilization, is a socio-technical invention (1981, p. 135).

When the monopoly of violence is combined with discipline and surveillance practices in modern times, the scope of the issue extends to arguments on docile bodies and disciplinary society with a specific emphasis on socio-technical inventions. As mentioned before, this engagement, the best examples we see in Foucault's works, opens the door to a new power model. Sofsky explains it like this:

> Along with the state monopoly on violence, rational bureaucracy, and organized work, modernity has also given rise to sites of discipline, surveillance, and conditioning. Modernity has confined human beings for life and trained them to be obedient, docile subjects. The manufacturing plant, industrial factory, and administrative office are the centers of bookkeeping and bureaucratic filing, economic exploitation and political rule (1996, p. 277).

Humanity has borne witness to the relentless annihilation of millions of lives within the framework of a new power paradigm. This paradigm manifests itself through a series of activities where violence is either shrouded in secrecy or unfolds without a spectacular display. Notably, instances of spectacular violence endure, particularly within regions such as the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Eastern Europe, and Latin America. As aptly articulated by Han,

> In premodernity, violence was ubiquitous, and above all both mundane and visible. It was a significant component of social practice and communication. Thus it was not merely wielded but also expressly put on display. Rulers exhibited their power through deadly violence, through blood. The theater of brutality that was staged in public spaces also demonstrated the ruler's power and magnificence. In this context, violence and its theatrical staging contribute significantly to the wielding of power and domination (2017, p. 14).

The wars in the 20th and 21st centuries also led to the emergence of a *surveillance societ*y with the extensive use of technology. Although the concept of "surveillance society" introduced by David Lyon focuses more on the shift experienced post-9/11, the world has been a grandiose surveillance mechanism, especially since the cold war and revolutionary technological developments. Lyon also defines surveillance in support of this thesis: "What transpired after 9/11 is that companies and government departments that already had an interest in such surveillance systems now had a rationale -and public support- for installing them" (Lyon, 2004, p. 298). Lyon describes the unintended results of this transformation as such: "a widening of the surveillance web and an enhanced exposure to the monitoring of ordinary people in their everyday lives" (2004, p. 298). From this point of view, the thesis that war has spread with new technology and ways of thinking is not far away. Foucauldian reasoning suggests that if the pervasiveness of technology, digitalization, and surveillance is in question, so must war's pervasiveness. Kardeş explains this situation as follows:

> [...] the unrestricted nature of warfare in the new wars has blurred the distinction between soldier and civilian, and as a result the idea of 'subjugating the enemy' has had to perpetuate itself outside the military sphere. The warfare extends to all areas. Its limitlessness also paves the way for its infinity[61] (2019, p. 50).

I will take a moment to quickly review a few of the conceptual sets from the literature on the sociology of war that are often used to define today's conflicts before we move to the theoretical grounds. I will discuss a few theoretical frameworks that fall under the umbrella term of "war discourses," drawing attention to the important differences that are key to this argument. As a starting point, we may think about certain literary cliches, particularly those rooted in the English-speaking world. Among these expressions, we can list the following: Military Operations other than war (MOOTW),

---

[61] Original text: "[…] yeni savaşlarda savaşın sınırsızlaşması asker-sivil ayrımını silikleştirmiş, bunun sonucunda ise 'düşmana boyun eğdirme' fikri kendisini askeri alan dışında da sürdürmek zorunda kalmıştır. Savaş alanı her yerdedir. Sınırsızlığı aynı zamanda sonu olmamasının önünü açmaktadır."

Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW) and Counterinsurgency (COIN). Joint Chiefs of Staff describe the former term in the document called "Joint Pub 3-07 Joint Doctrine for Military Operations Other Than War" (1995) as an operation involving "elements of both combat and non-combat operations in peacetime, conflict and war situations." (I-1) It fundamentally differs from the concept of war in the sense of its purposes and goals. For war, the objective is put as "to fight and win," whilst the goals of MOOTW are both "to deter war and resolve conflict" and "to promote peace and support civil authorities." (Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1995: I-2) However, MOOTW has not reached its goals since it was just a legitimation tool for the armies and imperial states. On the contrary, the "other" part of MOOTW is also destructive and warlike activity. Although MOOTW claims the establishment of peace, it actually caused the spread and increase of other military activities other than war. Plus, as can be seen in the wars in the Middle East, especially after the USA's new foreign policy called *War on Terror*, in the end, the result is not peacekeeping but the permanence of protracted political deadlock (Kardeş, 2019, p. 47).

The second term, Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW), is applied by Lind et al. to describe a new type of warfare that differentiates itself by the loss of the state's "monopoly on war since the Peace of Westphalia" (Lind, 2004, p. 13). For Lind et al., the first generation of warfare is defined as "Napoleaonic way of battlefield" which is mainly composed of tactics "were developed partially in response to technological factors — the line maximized firepower, rigid drill was necessary to generate a high rate of fire, etc.— and partially in response to social conditions and ideas" (Lind et al, 1989, p. 22). Second generation was a response to the first one. It differs from the first one by its reliance on "massed firepower" rather than "massed manpower" (Lind et al, 1989, p. 22). According to Lind, The Third Generation is "a product of World War I" and "was developed by the German Army" (Lind, 2004, p. 13). In essence, unlike second generation which is "based on firepower and attrition", Third Generation of war is designed in the basis of "speed, surprise, and mental as well as physical dislocation" (Lind, 2004, p. 13). As discussed in the "new wars" and "postmodern wars" literatures, the theory of Lind et al. has a particular emphasis on the conditions of civilians, type of armament, definitions of war and peace and classifications of military facilities. Its focus on the disappearance of the distinction between civilian and combatant has a special place in this endeavor. They defined 4GW as such:

> In broad terms, fourth generation warfare seems likely to be widely dispersed and largely undefined; the distinction between war and peace will be blurred to the vanishing point. It will be nonlinear, possibly to the point of having no definable battlefields or fronts. The distinction between "civilian" and "military" may disappear. Actions will occur concurrently throughout all participants' depth, including their society as a cultural, not just a physical, entity. Major military facilities, such as airfields, fixed communications sites, and large headquarters will become rarities because of their vulnerability; the same may be true of civilian equivalents, such as seats of government, power plants, and industrial sites (including knowledge as well as manufacturing industries). Success will depend heavily on effectiveness in joint operations as lines between responsibility and mission become very blurred. Again, all these elements are present in third generation warfare; fourth generation will merely accentuate them (Lind et al., 1989, pp. 23-4).

This will serve as the central focal point of my conceptualization of warfare. The concept of Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW) holds paramount importance for several reasons. Firstly, it represents an endeavor to comprehend the tactics employed by the marginalized and offers an analysis of the intricate interplay between guerrilla warfare, terrorism, and traditional warfare. Secondly, it arises from a historical context that underscores the increasing presence of warfare in urban environments. Given the tools and tactical strategies utilized in modern military operations, 4GW conveys a sense of resistance and resilience. Consequently, it embodies a nuanced form of warfare that sheds light on the unorthodox conflicts of the postmodern era.

The last term, called *counterinsurgency (COIN)*, on the other hand, is a strategy rather than a type of warfare. It has been a strategy of the West in the Cold War times in order to "prevent" the communism of the Soviet Union. Especially after the 1960s, Turkey was one of the countries that embarked on this strategy to participate in the Cold War period. According to the document announced by the United States Department of Army, COIN "is those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency" (2006, p. vi). One of the theoreticians of COIN, Colonel David Galula, puts emphasis on the secondary role of military action compared with the control of overpopulation. For Galula, military action's fundamental goal is "being to afford the political power enough freedom to work safely with the population" (1964, p. 63). It is mainly related to population politics as a form of biopower. In the final analysis, it is a reply and a counter-answer to the insurgents, which threatens the population not just through military operations and techniques but also economic, political, legal, and social attacks.

4.3.2. Theoretical Grounds

For the purposes of this investigation, I have narrowed my focus to the classics of war literature, the literature dealing with contemporary wars, including new wars and postmodern wars, as well as the French theorist Paul Virilio, who has written extensively on the topic of war and urban relations and his understating of war as a driving force for the city construction. In that context, I wish to pursue two primary objectives. Firstly, I will deal with how the concept of war has been discussed in the literature in order to chase up the trajectory of the concept. The following provides a rough outline of how this will aid in distinguishing war from other social practices. Secondly, this attempt will be influential for thinking about war through the literature on urbicide. The argument on urbicide will center on the nature and meanings of war, as well as its application in various settings.

Except for an essentialist definition of human beings, the answer to why human beings make war has been a complex and even insoluble issue. In these essentialist definitions, we see that man is an innate warrior, or vice versa, that the peaceful human essence actually becomes a warrior as a competitive creature with the social. However, in these explanations, expressions considered a priori cannot explain the situation's complexity in such figures as conscientious objection, suicide bomber, or executioner. The sociology of war tries to show the complexity and versatility of the problem rather than being a solution to this complexity. There has been a general opinion that classical social thinking has neglected violence and war issues in their social change analysis. However, according to Malešević, "in many respects, classical social thought shared the analytical, epistemological and even moral universe that understood war and violence as the key mechanisms of social change" (2010b, p. 193). For instance, Arendt exemplifies Karl Marx's standing with regard to violence and its role in history. She states that

> To be sure, Marx was aware of the role of violence in history, but this role was to him secondary; not violence but the contradictions inherent in the old society brought about its end. The emergence of a new society was preceded, but not caused, by violent outbreaks, which he likened to the labor pangs that precede, but of course do not cause, the event of organic birth. In the same vein he regarded the state as an instrument of violence in the command of the ruling class; but the actual power of the ruling class did not consist of or rely on violence. It was defined by the role the ruling class played in society, or, more exactly, by its role in the process of production. It has often been noticed, and sometimes deplored, that the revolutionary Left under the influence of Marx's teachings ruled out the use of violent means; the

> "dictatorship of the proletariat" -openly repressive in Marx's writings- came after the revolution and was meant, like the Roman dictatorship, to last a strictly limited period (Arendt, 1969, p. 11).

The emergence of this novel military organizational paradigm came to exemplify the evolving administrative structures linked to the advent of modernity. Within this context, the soldier assumed the role of the operative under the framework of what Max Weber aptly termed *rational-legal authority*. As Kaldor states (2012),

> The modern military officer is a type of appointed official who is clearly marked out by certain class distinctions ... In this respect, such officers differ radically from elected military leaders; from charismatic condottieri; from the type of officers who recruit and lead mercenary armies as a capitalistic enterprise; and finally from the incumbents of commissions which have been purchased. There may be gradual transitions between these types. The patrimonial 'retainer' who is separated from the means of carrying out his function and the proprietor of a mercenary army for capitalistic purposes, have along with the private capitalistic entrepreneur, become pioneers of the modern type of bureaucracy (p. 19).

As I have previously expounded upon how the discipline of sociology grappled with the intricacies of the concept of war through an exploration of its founding figures, I shall now refrain from delving into an exhaustive examination of war's conceptualization by these key figures and proceed with an analysis of the seminal works within the realm of war literature.

4.3.2.1. Classics of the Literature on War

Throughout this section, I will dwell on the major theoreticians and war analysts in war literature. One of the first thinkers dealing with war and strategy is, of course, Sun Tzu. Although he was the philosopher of ancient times, his perspective has been still a point of departure in war discussions. With his celebrated work, *Vom Kriege,* Carl Von Clausewitz is another figure who has been influential in this research area. Plus, as a follower of Clausewitz, Nazi advocate Carl Schmitt puts an important conceptualization of war, especially regarding his distinction between friend and enmity.

Sun Tzu wrote *Chinese Art of War* over 2000 years ago, one of the first texts on strategy and war. Sun Tzu's strategic approach, which has been rediscovered especially in the fields of business and management, is still a relevant theory in war

literature. The understanding put forward by Sun Tzu is especially important to understand contemporary war in the context of strategy and tactic. His acknowledged work counts in "foundations on which all modern military strategies are based" (Wee, 1994, p. 190). The point of departure in Tzu's understanding of war is the concept of *deception*. At the very beginning of his masterpiece, he states that "all warfare is based on deception" (Tzu, 2009, p. 4). Being a nonconstant form of war as a premise that can be understood with the conditions of that day requires one to be alert to unforeseen circumstances, as we will see for Schmitt. In this section, through the idea of "war as a deception," I will concentrate on the aspects of chance and friction and their role in the strategy of war. In addition, I will discuss how the term "war is like water" can help to understand wars in modern times.

Sun Tzu, a philosopher, and strategist hailing from ancient China in the year 400 B.C., espoused a unique perspective that drew upon the philosophical tenets of Confucianism and the Taoist tradition, which inherently carried an anti-war sentiment. This philosophical backdrop serves as the foundation upon which Sun Tzu's insights are built, as eloquently elucidated by Hawkins and Rajagopal in their analysis:

> The paradox in terms of Sun Tzu was that, while being a recognized strategist, his teachings reflected an anti-war background, the principle being that, in battle, the true skill was to win without a fight. Thus victory results not from pure strength but rather from an acute knowledge of ones opponents' methods and weaknesses (2005, p. xvii).

In *The Art of War*, Sun Tzu describes war as a tactical conflict between two parties. The determinant factor in his description of war is the use of intelligence to overcome the power of the opponent. Especially in the discussions on high-tech wars and low-tech wars, intelligence, tactic, and strategy become the major concepts referenced. Needless to say, in our modern world with high technology, wars have also become technologized with high-tech devices and equipment.

However, at the same time, "comparative strategic advantage' lies elsewhere, in 'low-intensity,' 'low-tech' political subversion, terrorism, and related methods of war" (Handel, 2005, p. xvii). "High-tech intensity," according to Handel, "is effective and fruitful in the conventional way of making war, and future wars will be based on demonstrat[ion of] the will to use 'low-tech', chemical, biological, and even nuclear weapons of mass destruction" (2005, p. xvii).

According to Sun Tzu, waging war is an art that starts with concerns preceding war, "referring to diplomatic and political bargaining, negotiations, and deception" (Handel, 2005, p. 24). His theoretical framework, whilst defining the war phenomenon, is broader than the other celebrated strategists like Clausewitz. For example, as far as Sun Tzu is concerned, "diplomacy and war are not just closely related—they comprise a continuous, seamless activity" (Handel, 2005, p. 24).

> In accordance with Sun Tzu's broader definition of war, a vital part of all deception operations takes place before the outbreak of hostilities. This type of political and diplomatic deception, which sabotages the enemy's alliances and internal cohesion, for example, is today referred to as disinformation and a fifth column (Handel, 2005, p. 168).

For Sun Tzu, this broader understanding of war ends up with the concept of "total war," which "allows one to defeat their enemy in a bloodless manner, focusing strategy on the economic, social and political defeat of the enemy" (Smith, 2010, p. 2). In that sense, Sun Tzu claims that in order to gain a victory, one must "use the economic, the social and political as an alternative to military action" (Coker, 2003, p. 18).

One of the most cited definitions of war is made by Clausewitz, which we will examine in this subsection: doing politics with other means. Many scholars have criticized the ambiguity of the definition, and the definitions of politics and war have been further narrowed down. Hegel and Clausewitz's conception of war points to an interstate war rather than unlimited violence the masses suffer (Kardeş, 2019, p. 20).

Clausewitz's ideas on war have become an important reference source in the field, with his war theory produced after Napoleon in the 19th century. Together with strategic thinking, war, especially in the post-Napoleonic period, is understood by Clausewitz in a more economic-political framework. His paradigmatic way of war understanding profoundly influenced 19th and 20th-century wars and war theories. Referring to the first chapter of *On War*, which Clausewitz himself completed, Mary Kaldor points out the neat description of Clausewitz as follows:

> The central thesis of On War […] is that war tends towards extremes. War is a social activity that brings together different tendencies or emotions – reason, chance and strategy, and passion that can be linked, respectively, to the state or the political leaders, the army or the generals, and the level of the people. From this trinitarian depiction of war, Clausewitz derived his concept of absolute war (2012, p. 23).

The definition of war put forward by Clausewitz has the background of a modern mind. In Clausewitzian understanding, the fulcrum of his discussion is “how to make force a rational and purposeful instrument of policy” (Dimitriu, 2020, p. 649). In this sense, Kaldor sees Clausewitz’s effort as a modern endeavor based on the secular way of thinking. According to Kaldor:

> For Clausewitz, war was a rational activity even though emotions and sentiments were mobilized in its service. In this sense, it is also a modern activity based on secular considerations and not confined by prohibitions derived from pre-rational conceptions of the world (2012, pp. 23-24).

In *On War*, Clausewitz focused on a military strategy without dealing with topics such as the essence of war, the philosophy of war, and tried to create an introductory text for the military. Considering its volume and intensity, it would not be wrong to say that a detailed narrative of the art of war has been made and that it has produced one of the most competent works on military strategy and the post-Napoleonic war. According to Kardeş, not referring to any philosophical movement does not mean that this effort has no conceptual level. Kardeş claims that there is a commonality between Clausewitz and Hegel on the political character of the concept of war. He says that in *Elements of the Philosophy of Right,* Hegel uses the German word *Krieg* for the concept of war, just like Clausewitz. For Hegel, war is "one of the signs of the state[62]", and Clausewitz puts more on the definition by describing war as “the violence with which one belligerent subjugates another to its will[63]” (Kardeş, 2019, p. 110).

As seen from the abovementioned discussions, in Clausewitz’s theory, war is defined in a conventional way: it is the effort of two opposing groups (actually two nation-states) to dominate each other. This effort requires a certain amount of technical and strategic knowledge and preparation. In other words, war is not an art but a technique, and it requires a nation-state put forward by a modern mind. Kaldor pinpoints this confrontation in Clausewitz’s argumentation as such: “Clausewitz defined war as ‘an

---

[62] According to Hegel: “The higher significance of war is that, through its agency (as I have put it on another occasion), 'the ethical health of nations [Volker] is preserved in their indifference towards the permanence of finite determinacies, just as the movement of the winds preserves the sea from that stagnation which a lasting calm would produce - a stagnation which a lasting, not to say perpetual, peace would also produce among nations'” (Hegel, 1991, p. 361).

[63] Original text: “bir muharip tarafın diğerini kendi iradesine boyun eğdirme şiddeti.”

act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will'. At the time, this definition implied that 'we' and 'our opponent' were states, and the 'will' of one state could be clearly defined" (2012, p. 17).

Known as Clausewitz's trinity, the three inherent aspects of war, which he himself describes as a "wondrous trinity," are violence, chance and probability, and subordination. These three aspects also include three different units of analysis: people (population), commander (military), and government. In regard to this perspective, the first and second elements of the trinity are based on physical and worldly issues like physical force and chance given by nature or other aspects in initiating war. The last one, on the other hand, is the rewriting of the celebrated motto, namely "war as an instrument of policy and therefore a continuation of politics" (Berger, 2013, p. 2).

Carl Schmitt, a figure notorious for his association with Nazi ideology, directed his scholarly pursuits primarily towards the realms of political theory, the law of war (*jus in bello*), and the intricate dynamics characterizing the relationship between the state and warfare. Despite his controversial affiliations, Schmitt's theoretical contributions wielded considerable influence within the domain of political philosophy, especially concerning the theory of war, which followed in the footsteps of military strategist Clausewitz. In the eyes of Etil, Schmitt's overarching intellectual endeavor revolved around the theoretical exploration of Germany's defeat in the aftermath of the First World War, signifying the profound historical rupture that triggered this relentless pursuit (2017, pp. 12-13). For Schmitt, following the path opened by Clausewitz, the changing nature of war can be observed in differentiating subjects.

According to Schmitt, Clausewitz's understanding of war between regular and equal parties has been replaced by partisans as irregular and mobile subjects. Unlike the modern symmetrical war logic, asymmetric warfare has no explicit war declaration and an apparent war contract. In this sense, the new understanding of warfare pulls the concept of war into the boundaries of law and order, namely illegality. Kardeş explains this paradigmatic transformation with reference to Schmitt's conceptualization of *plastic age*:

> Continuing the analogies of the stone age, the bronze age, and the iron age, Schmitt calls the age we live in the 'plastic age.' He characterizes the plastic age as rapidly

> malleable, its ore fluid, not found in nature, and alien to the earth. This expression, which accurately depicts today's world of low-cost or no-loss battles, is indicative of the shift that has taken place in the validity of political concepts.[64] (2019, p. 13).

This fluid, adaptable and active way of fighting has also changed the way politics is handled. What is at stake is a detective world administration rather than world politics. In that sense, "we can talk about the elimination of politics or the de-politicization of politics by de-territorialization" (Etil, 2017, p. 19). In fact, Schmitt points out the ontological link between politics and space. Space, as a founding element, is at the very center of the Schmittian concept of politics. Schmitt says that de-territorialization and transformation of the understanding of space result in a new *Ordnung*/order. This new order marks a period in which the concepts of partisan, guerrilla, and terrorist emerged as subjects. The decentralization of war along with the political "made the definition of the enemy obscure" (Etil, 2017, p. 20).

Two of Carl Schmitt's most extensively examined and frequently cited concepts, both within the realms of political philosophy and the literature on war, revolve around the notions of friend and enemy, or more broadly, enmity and friendship. For Schmitt, the delineation between friend and enemy constituted the very core of the political sphere. To delve into what he termed "the political," it was imperative to simultaneously engage in discussions about both friendship and enmity. This dual perspective was seen by Schmitt as essential for a comprehensive understanding of the political landscape.

> The specific political distinction to which political actions and motives can be reduced is that between friend and enemy. [...] The distinction of friend and enemy denotes the utmost degree of intensity of a union or separation, of an association or dissociation. […] The political comes into being when groups are placed in a relation of enmity, where each comes to perceive the other as an irreconcilable adversary to be fought and, if possible, defeated. Such relations exhibit an existential logic which overrides the motives which may have brought groups to this point (Hirst, 1999, p. 9).

In that sense, for Schmitt, the concept of *political* is the result of a contradiction. There must be a war for survival in order to call something political; in other words, a life-

---

[64] Original text: "Schmitt taş çağı, bronz çağı ve demir çağı analojilerini sürdürerek içinde yaşadığımız çağı 'plastik çağ' olarak adlandırır. Hızlıca şekil değiştirebilir, cevheri akışkan, doğada bulunmayan ve toprağa yabancı olarak plastik çağı niteler. Ucuz ve sıfır kayıplı savaşların dünyasını da aslında betimleyen bu deyim birçok açıdan politik kavramların meşruiyet zemininin de çoktan değişmiş olduğunu gösterir."

and-death struggle. This perspective sounds like Hegel's *Independence and Dependence Self-Consciousness: Lordship and Bondage* passage from The Phenomenology of Spirit. For Hegel, throughout the journey of "unhappy consciousness," self-consciousness is a moment. In that phase of the journey, Hegel brings up a life-and-death struggle. In the section of *The Truth of Self-Certainty*, Hegel refers to the return of self-consciousness' into itself, and he maintains that "through this reflection into itself the object has become Life" (Hegel, 1977, p. 106). In *Lordship and Bondage,* Hegel describes this reflection as "the action of the other, each seeks the death of the other" (1977, p. 113). He gives particular attention to this life and death dialectics. In his words,

> Thus the relation of the two self-conscious individuals is such that they prove themselves and each other through a life-and-death struggle. They must engage in this struggle, for they must raise their certainty of being for themselves to truth, both in the case of the other and in their own case (Hegel, 1977, pp. 113-4).

When we integrate this understanding with Schmitt's theory of enmity and friendship, we can observe a similarity between the two approaches. Hegel's line of reasoning continues in Schmitt's perspective as well. In order for self-consciousness to continue its journey, it had to encounter a self like itself. Only after this encounter can consciousness experience a moment of being self. This state of reciprocity is the dialectic itself. For Schmitt, the presence of the enemy alone does not constitute the political by itself, as the expanded form of Hegel's question of whether we can be for ourselves or stay in being for the other. As we see in Hegel, this dialectical relationship is actually a battle of life and death. In this sense, in Schmitt, war is actually the prerequisite of the political. The concept of war, according to Schmitt, has an ontological relationship with the concept of political: for him, "a community only becomes political when an enemy poses an existential threat and it must assert itself—that is, in war" (Han, 2017, p. 47). To Schmitt, the *political* centered at the core for understanding *Nomos* as a legal order: "norms always presuppose a 'normal situation.' In *Political Theology*, Schmitt identifies the decision on the exception as the constitutive element of sovereignty" (Antaki, 2004, p. 323).

Politics, being fundamentally concerned with the establishment of order, inherently invokes spatial considerations. Indeed, the political arena involves acts of demarcation. Much like in Hegel's philosophical framework, the delineation of a friend or enemy

corresponds to a process of defining the limits that separate the self from the other. This conceptualization is succinctly articulated by Han, who expresses:

> Violence aimed at the other as enemy lends stability and persistence to the self. It is identity forming. As he notes, "The enemy is our own question as Gestalt." Only when faced with the enemy does the self acquire "my own standard, my own limits, my own Gestalt." In turn, excluding the clearly marked other as enemy forms the conclusive, distinct self-image. The more distinct the enemy, the more clearly contoured my Gestalt will be. The image of the enemy and the self are mutually dependent (2017, pp. 52-3).

Schmittian scholars have frequently referred to the etymological link between *Ordnung* (Order) and *Ortung* (Emplacement). Aykut Çelebi points out that "Space is a geography as we know it; it is the organization, ordnung, of a space inherited and appropriated from nomos, which contains rights, values, cultures, and languages, and is shaped within a physical geography with all its kinships[65]" (Çelebi, 2016, p. 150). Appropriation of land or *terra* is the precondition of the classical model of war. In this model, state is the only authority that can wage war and name the enemy. For Schmitt,

> At the heart and origin of every nomos is a land-appropriation that founds an order. […] For Schmitt, the word nomos is primordially and primarily tied to land. As opposed to the sea, he remarks, measure belongs inherently to the earth (Antaki, 2004, p. 323).

As an absolute *Other*, the enemy has a spatial meaning with its limits and borders. This conventional understanding of enmity is based on the *difference*, i.e., "the army is trained to recognize and to respect the difference between soldiers and civilians and to regard as enemies only those who wear a uniform" (Slomp, 2009, p. 10). Wearing a uniform, the type of weapon used in war, a particular theatre of war, and symbols for identification are the practices of stating this difference.

> The solution to conflicts is not political; rather, the enmity that lies at the heart of conflict establishes the political. […] Thus no normative justification of war is possible, only an existential one. Indeed, there can be no justification for war. The norms establish the "normal situation." Only a "critical," "entirely abnormal situation" in which norms no longer apply can be called political. Schmitt severs war from any kind of normativity: "The justification of war does not reside in its being fought for ideals or norms of justice, but in its being fought against a real enemy" (Han, 2017, pp. 48-9).

---

[65] Original text: "Mekân bizim bildiğimiz anlamda bir coğrafya, içinde hakları barındıran, değer, kültür ve dilleri içeren ve bütün akrabalıklarıyla fiziki bir coğrafya içinde şekillenen nomos'dan devralınmış, temellük edilmiş bir mekânın düzenlenmesidir, ordnungtur."

4.3.2.2. Literature on "New Wars" and "Postmodern Wars"

Apart from the classic scholarships in War literature, we can talk about new war definitions that have recently begun to play an increasingly important role. In particular, massive developments in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and war technologies, and new war strategies transformed into the production of anti-human vehicles, necessitating new concepts and understanding efforts. Now hacking, social media wars, financial attacks and embargo, media, and ideology have become a means of war. For example, in the Unrestricted Warfare book of Qiao Liang and Xiangsui, they dramatically refer to new instruments of war:

> War in the age of technological integration and globalization has eliminated the right of weapons to label war and, with regard to the new starting point, has realigned the relationship of weapons to war, while the appearance of weapons of new concepts, and particularly new concepts of weapons, has gradually blurred the face of war. Does a single "hacker" attack count as a hostile act or not? Can using financial instruments to destroy a country's economy be seen as a battle? Did CNN's broadcast of an exposed corpse of a U.S. soldier in the streets of Mogadishu shake the determination of the Americans to act as the world's policeman, thereby altering the world's strategic situation? And should an assessment of wartime actions look at the means or the results? (2017, p. 38).

Moreover, drone wars have become the reality of the 21st century. Defined as "an eye turned into a weapon" (Chamayou, 2015, p. 11), drone wars point out a new phase in the concept of war. Unlike Clausewitz's classic definition of war, Chamayou claims that the drone does not include the idea of duello but the hunter and the victim relationship, which cannot be challenged by the enemy (Kardeş, 2019, p. 24). Just by favoring the asymmetrical way of making war, drone wars produce a discourse that purifies the enemy from its enmity. This discourse of antiterrorism creates new ethics of war which looks like an unpeopled form of warfare. Chamayou states that

> In the official vocabulary of the U.S. Army, a drone is defined as "a land, sea, or air vehicle that is remotely or automatically controlled." The drone family is not composed solely of flying objects. […] Provided there is no longer any human crew aboard, any kind of vehicle or piloted engine can be "dronized" (2015, p. 11).

Dehumanization of war is integrated with the omnivoyant character of drones which sees or has the capability to see everything on terra. The enemy is visualized and treated as only a target without any reference to a human being. Kardeş presents this cooccurrence as the emergence of an organized and unpredictable form of violence. According to him, the remote war does not contribute to developing a political

mentality but rather organizes new and unpredictable forms of violence by transferring the war from man to machine (Kardeş, 2019, p. 27).

As can be seen from the new forms of violence, new instruments of war, and new war strategies, war literature has divaricated specifically regarding war technology and the war industry. Two primary streams will be provided as part of this subsection. The first is the conceptualization of *new wars*, led by Mary Kaldor (2012), and the other is the *postmodern war* theory, which Gray (1997) particularly stands on.

In the logic of the definition of *new wars*, war may be a reciprocal attempt, as Clausewitz's definition suggests, or a competition of will. The reciprocal attempt means that both sides need the other to attempt a war, while the involvement of the will and will underlines the need for the enemy to be crushed and, therefore, the extremism of war. Whereas Kaldor's focus on new wars (2012, p. 274) is a state of war in which the enemy is needed, and certain groups exploit, but also a rare occurrence of conventional wars and violence against civilians. According to Kaldor (2012), today's wars have a more distinctive nature than those of the 19th and 20th centuries. Contrary to the European wars in this period, today's wars are inconclusive, long-term, and tend to spread (Kaldor, 2012, p. 271). According to Münkler, the interstate wars between the middle of the 17th century and early 20th century are short wars (e.g., First and Second World Wars) that end with the peace agreement that formed the basis of subsequent peace negotiations following the war declaration, except for some exceptions. However, the new wars are carried out according to the partisan warfare principles set out by the dissolution of military forces rather than focusing on time and space, and that have no final battle, which Clausewitz described as the *crucial point of the war*.

According to Kardeş (2019), another feature of the new wars is the formation of unlimited violence. Moving beyond the borders of the state monopoly on war, we are entering a new era of limitless and borderless violence. As wars decrease in the classical sense, they are replaced by new levels of violence, civil wars, and proxy wars (Kardeş, 2019, pp. 19-21).

Chris Hables Gray (1997) posits the emergence of a novel era characterized by a blend of peace and war. Gray contends that weapons of mass destruction are proliferating at

an alarming pace, propelled by advancements in science and technology, and are increasingly falling into the hands of non-state actors. This diffusion, he suggests, is being orchestrated through mechanisms of communication, economic interconnection, and peacekeeping forces. Gray (1997) asserts that, in this contemporary landscape, information assumes a new role in warfare. He aligns more closely with Foucault than Clausewitz, contending that *war is a form of politics*. Furthermore, Gray (1997) posits that contemporary warfare follows a postmodern ethos characterized by a pursuit of peace. In this context, as Gray (1997) puts it, warfare is executed in a manner consistent with postmodern principles and is pursued with the ultimate goal of achieving peace. Gray (1997) alludes to the deployment of information-based cyberwarfare (info-war) and computer technologies, a stark departure from the conventional tools and techniques employed between the 1500s and the 1950s, particularly pronounced in the 1990s.

4.3.2.3. Paul Virilio and the Architecture of War

Paul Virilio aims to understand the new war situation, focusing primarily on the relationship between technology and war in the contemporary era. In fact, he is a scholar who deals with the *militarization of vision* (Carrabine, 2018, p. 4). Virilio's importance for us comes from his particular emphasis on the ontological relationship he establishes between city and war and the issue of absence in the definition of war. As one of the most influential thinkers in the 20th century, he touched upon many important issues, from technology to modern media and cinema, emphasizing perception and seeing.

According to Virilio, the modern city has emerged as a result of a new architecture caused by weapons, armies, and war technology. The city is, in a way, a spatial arrangement of this new war architecture. In particular, logistics and transportation are the major aspects of city life, which are also instruments of war. He points out this relation by giving reference to the security and emergence of cities:

> "the need for defense and the preparation for war was at the origins of the foundation of cities, while logistics, the preparation for war, begins the modern industrial economy, fueling development of a system of specialized and mechanized mass production. War and logistics require increased speed and efficiency, and technology provides instruments that create more lethal and effective instruments of war (Kellner, 1999, p. 106).

Indeed, giving a reference to one of the interviews of Virilio, James (2007) puts it as such: "In an interview with Sylvère Lotringer published originally in 1983, Virilio indicates that his interest in war is inseparable from his interest in the city and urban planning." (2007, p. 67). James maintains that:

> By situating the origin of the city in war, Virilio also affirms the inseparability of war from politics. Politics, defined as the art of governing the internal and external affairs of a specific entity (e.g. a state), is a word derived from the term polis, the Ancient Greek city-state (e.g. Athens or Sparta) (2007, p. 68).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that Virilio constructs an association here that stands in contrast to Clausewitz's thesis. While Clausewitz posited that politics is the continuation of war with different means, Virilio gives credit to the idea of politics as a continuation of war. However, he introduces a nuanced perspective by emphasizing that, as stated in James' work: "war plays such a fundamental role in shaping the space of the political that the two spheres no longer maintain any clear or distinct identity such that one might be said to be the continuation of the other" (2007, p. 69).

In Virilio's conceptual framework, technology assumes a paramount role in the context of warfare. As the velocity of technological advancements escalates and war technologies undergo transformation, both the content and structure of warfare experience profound changes. The conventional constraints tied to a specific territory, which used to mitigate confrontations and the demand for physical space, have given way to a more pervasive and global manifestation of world war. In this evolution, a representational dimension of the concept of war emerges. According to Virilio,

> There is no war, then, without representation, no sophisticated weaponry without psychological mystification. Weapons are tools not just of destruction but also of perception- that is to say, stimulants that make themselves felt through chemical, neurological processes in the sense organs and the central nervous system, affecting human reactions and even the perceptual identification and differentiation of objects (1989, p. 8).

In addition to this spectacle side of the issue, Virilio designates the role of the camera and the visualization of the atrocity in understanding war and conflict.

> In Virilio's (1994) study of the remains of wartime architecture in *Bunker Archaeology* he includes a section on an 'aesthetics of disappearance', which anticipates the recent interest in documenting the aftermath of war. Some of the most unsettling and moving images of conflict are those where the photographer has arrived only to find a place where something used to be: the evidence only of an absence (Carrabine, 2018, p. 9).

As we have discussed elsewhere in this chapter, the recording of pure violence actually refers to an absence. Just like Agamben's (1999) comparison between *archive* and *testimony*, the limits of language - and therefore the limits of representation - are transgressed in the face of this absence. What is shown, what is said, what comes into language is this new situation created by absence.

4.3.4. Fractures of War

Under this heading, I will discuss the relationship of war with the economy, gender, media, borders, and objects. I will argue how war is addressed within these frameworks and how a gender-based, economic, and boundary-bounded object-analysis is possible at the intersection of all these perspectives.

The section regarding the economics of war will not be a vulgar investigation of the economy and war relations echoing the mercantilist understanding that says "all means are good to ensure the national economic and political domination" (Coulomb, 2004, p. 19). Also called "defense economics," the economics of war and peace is actually interested in the budget of the countries allocated for war, peace, and in-between periods. Especially after 9/11, the demand for security mechanisms and tools has increased. According to Norris, "twin concern of crime control and anti-terrorism provided the primary rationale for a massive investment of public funds," especially for the demand of CCTV, a usual technological tool of the era (2012, p. 251). Plus, the military as an institution has a mercantile character which is itself an economic actor in the system with its financial and production sides. In this part of the chapter, I will deal with how warfare must be analyzed in terms of its economic base and how it became a military industry, particularly in the Turkish case.

One of the most apparent indicators that can reveal the economic side of war is investigating its relationship with capital. As Rousseau cleverly puts it, "[t]he first man, who, after enclosing a piece of ground, took it into his head to say, 'This is mine,' and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society" (2004, p. 63). This "man" had to fight in order to protect the thing that belongs to him. In that sense, the social is rooted in this primary idea of conflict, which is based on the enclosure in the context of private property. Especially with existing social models

beginning to become modern organizations, the military has become one organization that determines power relations.

One of the gross aspects of the war is the war industry. Discussing the war without mentioning guns, tanks, and ammunition is impossible. War industry is described by Kenneth E. Boulding in his article on world war industry as "the part of human income-earning activity devoted to producing, maintaining, and sometimes utilizing means of destruction" (1986, p. 12). When it is defined as such, it becomes difficult to measure the size of the war industry since many branches and activities produce alternative costs for the war industry. Boulding argues the civilian loss and other factors of the war and states that "the absorption of high-quality human resources into the war industry has long-run effects in diminishing the rate of economic growth. The war industry is an internal 'brain drain,' which can seriously handicap the economies that put many resources into it" (Boulding, 1986, p. 13).

The relationship between war and economy is discussed by Boulding (1979) in the context of the USA regarding four major time periods in the 20th century. In the first period, he talks about World War I (WWI) and the Great Depression, named the "depressed 1930s", which had an insignificant impact on the economy of the USA. The second period is the years of World War II (WWII) which is described as such: "[a]lmost all of the budget deficits and the inflation of the second period were related to the war industry and World War II." (Boulding, 1979, p. 93). The Korean War times is the third period with a relatively minor impact on the economy when compared with the second period. The last period, according to the paper, which was written in 1979, was the years of decline of the war industry in proportion to the Gross National Product (GNP). For Boulding, "[b]efore 1970, it is probably safe to say that inflation was primarily a war-related phenomenon. After 1970, inflation became what might almost be called a 'normal characteristic' of the total society and was hardly related at all to the size of the war industry". This is not because the war stopped but because there were issues related to the decision-making processes and the economy. In Akça's (2017) words,

> The most decisive aspect of the relationship between militarism and capitalism is the industrialization of war with capitalism and its penetration into the capital accumulation process. [...] The structure in question consists of the intricate relations between private companies in the arms industry where high defense expenditures flow, the military bureaucracy that controls the tender processes and other interest groups embedded in this process. The military-industrial complex operates through

> organic relations established in the triangle of Army, Industry, Science and Technology[66] (p. 226).

Is there a gendered dimension to war? Should we contemplate the interplay between war and gender? Do these concepts fundamentally shape one another? How does war manifest in relation to the male body, and what role does it assign to women? These inquiries have been posited by feminist scholars within the domain of war, peace, and security studies. Predictably, women have traditionally been marginalized within discussions of war and organized violence. Nevertheless, feminist theory contends that their invisibility or exclusion carries significant implications. Malešević, in his work *The Sociology of War and Violence*, endeavors to comprehend this absence and investigates the phenomenon wherein gender is rendered irrelevant in the context of war (2010a, p. 275). He postulates that the underlying rationale behind the gendering of war lies in legitimizing warfare itself and employing these gender distinctions as ideological instruments. In the words of Malešević (2010a):

> The ever-increasing complexity of social organisations and their ideological powers have fostered greater gender stratification in the military and have also increased the destructive potential of warfare. Not only is gender separation functional for warfare; more importantly, this separation makes war possible and socially meaningful (p.307).

Arguing war independently of a woman would bring about being involved in this system of legitimacy. Reviewing that there is a constitutive relationship between women and war, feminist scholars show that where women are rendered invisible is where the gender constitution occurs. Laura Sjoberg (2014) strives to explain this relationship with reference to commonalities and particularities of the wars. It is frequently in the unspoken roots of war and the underlying beliefs that drive fighting where gender dynamics are most evident. For Sjoberg (2014), war is a process of escalating and de-escalating violence rather than an event. As a critique of the war and peace dichotomy, Laura J. Shepherd claims that the in-between period must be the major unit of analysis in the studies of organizational violence. She puts it:

---

[66] Original text: "Militarizm kapitalizm ilişkisinin en belirleyici yönü, kapitalizmle beraber savaşın sanayileşerek sermaye birikim sürecinin içine nüfuz etmesidir. […] Söz konusu yapı yüksek savunma harcamalarının aktığı silah sanayiinde yer alan özel şirketler, ihale süreçlerinin kontrol eden askeri bürokrasi ve bu sürecin içine konuşlanmış diğer çıkar grupları arasındaki girift ilişkilerden oluşur. Askeri-sınai kompleks Ordu, Sanayi, Bilim ve Teknoloji üçgeninde kurulmuş organik ilişkiler üzerinden işler."

> how a focus on war and peace can neglect to take into account the politics of everyday violence: the violences of the in-between times that international politics recognizes neither as 'war' nor 'peace' and the violences inherent to times of peace that are overlooked in the study of war (2009, p. 209).

Wartime sexual violence is a crucial issue in the context of gender and war. The sexual violence at wartime composed of "Wartime sexual violence includes forced marriage, forced pregnancy and childbearing, rape, and sexual enslavement by warring parties, in this case, the armed forces" (Atim et al., 2018, p. S62).

War is a gendered act of exception, as aforementioned. Rape in war is one of the visible sides of this exception. Holly Porter reminds us of a biological approach to rape in war, which describes war as having its own gendered language and own body politics. According to this approach, "[w]hen it comes to rape in the context of war, powerful and evocative language is now commonplace, describing rape as a 'weapon of war' and the female body as a 'battlefield'" (Porter, 2019, p. 1010). Although this understanding is helpful in indicating the exceptionality and denormalization of the issue, this biological paradigm fails to fully define the specificity of rape in war in comparison to "normal sexuality" defined in the paper.

> Changes in military labor arrangements mean that "gender images cannot be reduced to the dualism of 'war-prone men' and 'peaceful women' anymore," with the discursive field now populated by a range of military femininities as well as masculinities (Tidy, 2018, p. 3).

Whether war is the concession of men or women being rendered merely invisible in this social activity has continued to exist in a significant, problematic way. The role and engagement of women in certain activities of organized crime have been debated predominantly in the discussions of gender construction, in the arguments on the relation between sexuality and war. Women's exclusion or their invisibility in war shows itself in the ignorance about the social type of women as veterans or warriors. They were recruited either for auxiliary facilities like workers in the military factories during the war, medical personnel in the trenches, or taking part in the secret and "soft" duties like being a spy. Although the image of woman as a warrior has not been the dominant woman archetype, figures such as the female armies of Amazon[67] or the

[67] There are two different myths related with female armies in the history. One of the mythological figures belongs to Greece called the Amazons of Greek who lived in Black-Sea region before the 5th

"night witches[68]" in which Soviet Russia harnessed its strength in World War II brought to the agenda a re-thinking of women's role in the war. In this section, I will dwell on the role of warrior women in the war process as Goldstein called it "universal gendering of war" investigating the universal pattern of the place of women in war (2001, p. 10)

It may be ironic that women's ability to give birth is discussed in a research area dominated by death, such as war. Women's place in the war was tried to be established, especially through motherhood and their domestic role emphasized more in these matters. "Mothering a man" or "being the mother of the nation" have been valued especially in the wartimes: at the end, the men fighting at the trenches are the sons of the nation's mothers. For this reason, women are categorized as peace-seeking subjects and excluded from the war perspectives. Tidy rightfully states that: "[b]y virtue of their association with life-giving, women, whether or not they actually are mothers, are seen as having a valid perspective on peace" (2014, p. 3).

Compulsory military service has been one of the main reasons behind this matching. Cooper claims that forced military service removes women from warzones which is the arena of the citizenry from the times of the Greco-Roman period. She says that "military service, as a cultural byproduct of the nation at hand, has often demanded a particular response from its female citizenry, but particularly from mothers of military men" (Cooper, 2014, p. 4).

In this subsection, therefore, my aim is to discuss the relationship of motherhood and war as organized violence and try to understand whether there is a change in this relationship with the new war technology and new strategy of war. It is also palpable that women have been taking part in the post-war periods. Rubble women of Berlin called Trümmerfrau form a strong case for women's role in the post-war period. Katrina Sark describes the "rubble women" of post-Hitler Germany as such:

---

century BC. The Amazons of the Dahomey are the second group who is thought to form a female army in Africa in the 19th century (Edgerton, 2000).

[68] They are the Soviet female soldiers who "were exceptionally efficient bomber pilots and anti-aircraft unit commanders, wreaking havoc on the German military and air force and in the process acquiring the nickname 'night witches'" (Malešević, 2010a, p. 281).

> In the first months after the war some 86,000 women in Berlin worked as *Trümmersfrauen* 'rubble women,' clearing the streets, cleaning out basements and collapsed buildings, and piling brickes to make them usable for reconstruction (Sark, 2008, pp. 117-118).

One of the main points about war is to lead the masses to collective violence. What is needed is legitimacy and legality. In that sense, media and war propaganda play an important role in gaining legitimacy and legality in the eye of the masses. In this section, I will first discuss the role of peace-war journalism in order to understand how the way of news-making affects the war and its reception by the masses.

Undoubtedly, Nazi Germany would be one of the most striking examples of media and war relations. Radio, one of the most critical technological media tools at the time, transformed into an illusive "public service" tool by transforming it into a culture industry. This transformation contributed to a non-profit and over-politics positioning of the radio. The new policy of propaganda for fascist states of the 20th century was to use any means to wage war. This Machiavellian perspective is illustrated by Doob as such "Goebbels had no scruples whatsoever concerning the use of censorship. 'News policy,' he stated, 'is a weapon of war; its purpose is to wage war and not to give out information (1965, p. 515). This "illusive sound," a blessing unmistakable for fascism, strengthened the "metaphysical charisma of the Fuhrer." Now, the sound of the Führer could be heard from anywhere and the sound (command) could penetrate everywhere. This is the "demonic parody of the divine spirit" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 129). Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer elaborate on this transformation in their masterpiece *Dialectics of Enlightenment*. In their words:

> In fascism radio becomes the universal mouthpiece of the Führer; in the loudspeakers on the sneer his voice merges with the howl of sirens proclaiming panic, from which modern propaganda is hard to distinguish in any case (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 129).

In that sense, the medium affects and even determines the message. Omni-presence of the voice of power, for example, by new media tools and technologies, indicates that Big Brother is not only watching you but also interpellating you at any place and at any time with different mediums. As the conceptualization of "new war," the "new media" has also been a trending area of interest in media studies. Seeing the new wars also as media operations in military terms, the new media approach claims that the media in the times of "threat society" "have dramatically influenced the western ways

of warfare because of the continuous 24/7 surveillance from the media, but also from NGOs and human rights organizations" (Nohrstedt, 2016, p. 136). The overdose exposure to surveillance is interpreted by Han as an "excess of the violence of positivity."

> Violence isn't merely an excess of negativity; it can also be an excess of positivity, the accumulation of the positive, which manifests as overachievement, overproduction, overcommunication, hyperattention, and hyperactivity. The violence of positivity is possibly even more disastrous than that of negativity because it is neither visible nor evident, and it evades immunological defense because of its positivity. Infection, invasion, and infiltration—which are characteristic of the violence of negativity—now give way to infarction (Han, 2017, p. 10).

At that point, the new media and its excess are crucial discussion points in the field of war journalism. For Knightley, war journalism can be described as an "identification with one side or with the home side of the war; military triumphantist language; an action orientation; and a superficial narrative with little context, background, or historical perspective" (as cited in Lee & Maslog, 2005, p. 311). In a sense, it is a normative understanding of peace and war, which is based on a realistic way of message transfer and self-evident visualization of conflicts and war zones. Johan Galtung's conceptualization of peace journalism is one of the classics of conflict studies that emerged as a critique of war journalism. Being an optimistic perspective, peace journalism tries to find a way to form a possibility of peace rather than emphasize violence and war.

As aforementioned, one of the primary components of war is the existence of an enemy. Indeed, enmity, for Hegel, is the precondition for self-consciousness. Border/Limit is its spatial projection in terms of geopolitical understanding of enclosure. Within this section, I will discuss how border and enclosure studies can contribute to the comprehension of the notion of war. A particular emphasis will be given to Wendy Brown's (2010) theorization of walled states and their relation to sovereignty and Stavros Stavrides' (2010) conceptualization of thresholds.

Zehra Doğan is a Kurdish artist and journalist who is known for her exhibition on imprisonment and objects. The exhibition titled "Left Behind" (*E Li Du man*) (*figure-11*) at the Tate Modern London propelled international attention because of its way of expressing war. While she was a journalist in the conflict zones documenting the violence at the times of war in Cizre and Nusaybin, which were destroyed after 2015,

Doğan collected objects, including shoes, carpets, blankets, curtains, and undershirts. She calls her effort an installation which is a work she collected from ruins. In her words:

> There are times when an item doesn't just have a function. It can be an armor to save your life or a symbol to express you. [...] Burnt clothes right around the carpet, rubber shoes that maybe fell off their feet on the way out, pots and plates warped and twisted under the ruins. The burnt clothes were actually an identity. People don't want to wear clothes they don't like and don't want to find themselves in. These clothes were a part of them[69] (Altuğ, 2019).

Figure 11: Images from E lı Dû Man/Left Behind by Zehra Doğan

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2YMDjmQfY8w

Access Date: 08/08/2023

As this quote illustrates, the artifact becomes a symbol of destruction and war rather than an object which belongs to the pre-war milieu where it was once part. In fact, there is a qualitative difference between the rubbers before the war and the abject of rubbers after the war. That is,

---

[69] Original text: "Bazı anlar olur ki bir eşyanın sadece bir işlevi olmaz. O sizin hayatınızı kurtarmak için bir zırh veya sizi ifade etmek için bir sembol olabilir. […] Hemen halının etrafında yanmış kıyafetler, giderken belki de ayaklarından düşmüş lastik ayakkabılar, yıkıntıların altında eğrilip büğrülmüş tencereler, tabaklar. Yanmış kıyafetler bir kimlikti aslında. İnsan sevmediği kendini içinde bulmak istemediği kıyafetleri giymek istemez. Bu kıyafetler onların birer parçasıydı."

> What this exhibition achieves very well is the fact of developing a counter-discourse, by taking ownership of everything, each item and visual considered as abject. […] [O]ne of the means that those in power use is to create a catalog of elements considered "abject" both in a physical and in an intellectual sense, and to proceed in such a way that they become cursed or "terrorizing" symbols. For this reason, taking ownership of the abject and transforming it into a tool for expression, rendering it "presentable", is a political impulse (Ergenç, 2020).

The difference between what is presentable and what is lost (unpresentable) defines war. Objects and things are the constitutive part of this process with their presence and non-presence. According to Brown, "we begin to confront the thingness of objects when they stop working for us" (2001, p. 4).

4.4. Necropolitics

Euretē moi hē entolē hē eis zēn, autē eis thanaton.

[And the commandment, which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death.]

-Saint Paul

The concepts of power and politics have undeniably left a profound and often contentious mark on the field of social sciences. This influence has extended to and has been instrumental in some of the bloodiest conflicts witnessed in the course of human history throughout the previous century. While this conceptual framework was originally associated with the ideals of progress and enlightenment, it has also played a pivotal role in ushering in an era marked by widespread acts of violence and mass destruction, significantly reshaping the human condition in the current century. In the eyes of certain theorists, the specter of events like the Holocaust still looms ominously, as articulated by Kertsz:

> "any representation of the Holocaust that is incapable of understanding or unwilling to understand the organic connection between our own deformed mode of life (whether in the private sphere or on the level of 'civilization' as such) and the very possibility of the Holocaust" (2001, p. 270).

By discussing the stylization, Kertsz justly deals with the ways with which humanity can free itself both from the reification and institutionalization of the Holocaust. Sounding Adorno's theoretical armature on the elimination of the idea of the Holocaust, Kertsz connects the very possibility of the Holocaust to our modern

"deformed mode of life" (2001, p. 270). The authentic experience of this human-led catastrophe is rooted in the modern form of thinking that separates the human from the non-human. The modern mind handed down from Enlightenment created an ontological hierarchy between subject and object by prioritizing the former. This is what Latour calls the purification separating domains that "create two discrete ontological zones" (Latour, 1993, p. 10). In his posthumanist anthropology, Latour describes modernity as the birth of nonhumanity. In his words:

> Modernity is often defined in terms of humanism, either as a way of saluting the birth of 'man' or as a way of announcing his death. […] But this habit itself is modern, because it remains asymmetrical. It overlooks the simultaneous birth of 'nonhumanity' -things, or objects, or beasts- and the equally strange beginning of a crossed-out God, relegated to the sidelines (1993, p. 13).

Bill Brown genuinely put this asymmetry in a conversation with the *fetishization of the subject*. He asserts that subject is the agent in history-making, which "totalizes the world, whereas the object is shamed, obscene, passive" (Brown, 2001, p. 8). In this form of thinking, "[t]he object has been intelligible only as the alienated, accursed part of the subject" and thus it is defined in its absence. In other words, an object or thing is recognized when it stops its functions. In a very obvious sense, its mediational presence is foundationally dependent on the subject. A further discussion point is gauged by Pyyhtinen and Tamminen in their comparative study on Foucault and Latour, dwelling on modern knowledge with the subject-object relationship as a fulcrum point of departure. They stated that

> the characteristic of modern knowledge is therefore not the application of objective scientific methods (to man), as classical rationalism maintains, but instead the emergence of such a figure of Man who is at once both the object and subject of knowledge – literally an 'empirico-transcendental doublet' (Pyyhtinen and Tamminen, 2011, p. 138).

In fact, to fully negotiate this subordination and relationality issue of the subject-object, it is important to deal with the threesome features of the modern mind: the politicization of the object, rationalization, and violence. These three features of the modern mind are also key characteristics of the modern type of destruction of space: urbicide. As a productive scholar of the literature on power, Byung-Chul Han makes a strong emphasis on the attachment of the link between modernity and violence. He describes this attachment as the "internalized form of violence." As he puts

> The Greeks called torture ἀνάγκαι. Ἀναγαῖος means "necessary" or "indispensable." Torture was perceived and tolerated like fate or a law of nature (ἀνάγκη). […] In modernity, violence assumes a psychic, psychologized, internalized form. It takes on intrapsychic forms. Destructive energies are not directly, affectively discharged but rather worked through psychically (Han, 2017, pp. 12-3).

Violence, when regarded as an "insignium of power," assumes a foundational role in the dynamics of societal interaction (Han, 2017, p. 13). Nevertheless, it is essential to recognize that what sets apart the contemporary modes of oppression from their premodern counterparts is a significant "topological transformation." As exemplified in Han's (2017) renowned treatise,

> The end of the premodern society of sovereignty as the society of blood subjected violence to a topological transformation. No longer did it form a part of political and societal communication. It withdrew into subcommunicative, subcutaneous, capillary spaces within the psyche. It shifted from the visible to the invisible, from the direct to the discreet, from the physical to the psychic, from the martial to the medial, and from the frontal to the viral. Its mode of operation was no longer confrontation but contamination, not open assault but concealed infection. This structural change in violence increasingly determines its occurrence today (p. 14).

Expanding upon the theoretical foundation laid by Foucault, the concept of *capillary power* exemplifies this noteworthy "topological transformation." Throughout history, the dominance of biopower and its discursive extensions has been superseded by disciplinary techniques and endeavors focused on the management of populations. The following section of this chapter will emphasize the historical and theoretical progression of the notion of biopolitics, delving into the influential figures within the literature.

4.4.1. Biopolitics: Power over Life

In this chapter, I shall start with the conceptual framework of Michel Foucault, who conceptualized the idea of biopolitics. The first section of the book might be thought of as the *Birth* section for this reason. With Foucault's examination of body, power, and discipline, the idea gained considerable traction in political philosophy. Especially in the fields of body politics and power theories, the idea of biopolitics emerged as crucial. Hardt and Negri then bring the concept of social bios closer to the notion of death by expanding Foucault's definition of the concept through life. Understanding the concept's pathway requires attention to this part, which may be summed up as

Between Birth and Death. Finally, in the part that might be characterized as *Through Death*, we shall see how biopolitics is modified by death through Agamben's idea of thanatopolitics, which is discussed at the conclusion of the *Power over Life* section.

Foucault was not the creator of the concept of biopolitics, for sure. But the concept has taken its key position in contemporary thought with Foucault's modified and reframed understanding of the term. "The organization of life as a whole [*peri holen, hos ge eikos, ten tou zen paraskeuen*] goes back to the state theory of Plato. Although this understanding is different from Foucault's *juridico-institutional* power, it has some essential kernel of the concept of biopolitics. It is not a surprise that for the sake of its subjects, the state, in an ideal sense, organizes the lives of its vassals throughout history. In the history of Western political thought, the intellectual effort to conceptualize this organizational way of governing has its roots in the philosophical categories of Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, as Ojakangas boldly puts it, the antecursor of modern biopolitics reaches deeply to the "Platonic *biopolitico-pastoral power*[70]" (2016, pp. 3-4). Plato sets himself on the task of defining the leadership and state by discussing the role of medicine and legislation in controlling over the subjects. In his work Republic, Plato underscores that

> [*Medicine and legislation*] will care for the bodies and souls of such of your citizens as are truly well born [*euphueis*], but of those who are not, such as are defective in body they will suffer to die and those who are ill-natured and incurable in soul [*kata t n psukh n kakophueis kai aniatous*] they will themselves put to death (as cited in Ojakangas, 2016, p. 6).

As argued both by Plato and Aristotle, city-states were for the management and administration of the population as a technical-political object. At that place, it is crucial to remind the close analogy between this model of leadership with the figure of the *shepherd*. In this theoretical stance, the process of purging is the critical administrating practice of the shepherd. The idea of governing people is ontologically based on the living things; i.e.,

> the natural life (*phusis*) of individuals and populations: individuals as members of bio-social subpopulations, meaning sexes, social classes, and races – and populations as living collectives with their own immanent regularities (Ojakangas, 2016, p. 7).

---

[70] Italic in origin.

These living collectives remained the primary target object of the powerful. As violently put by a Nazi biologist Otman von Verschuer, the strategy of purging was still on the table as by "the maintenance and improvement of the healthy heritage and the elimination of its diseased elements, and the preservation of the specific racial character of the people" (Pichot, 2009, pp. 79-80). The discussion on the historical continuity of this political way of thinking is kept argued by Ojakangas concerning eugenic discourses. For him,

> This variant of politics appears precisely in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century eugenic discourses. As we shall see, it was the eugenicists – and not the early modern representatives of the police, or even the medieval Scholastics – to whom the shepherd became a paradigmatic figure in their reflections on the art of governing men (2016, p. 3).

Needless to say, the art of governing must always be legitimized and grounded on a safe political stance. In other words, the shepherd either has to state her/his position as a leader or to convince the sheep to foster living standards. Modern biopolitics stands on the latter. Foucault provides a bone-deep affinity between the birth of "social medicine" and biopolitics. The interest in the investigation of wealth for the surveillance of populations (Foucault, 2006, p. 248). On 23 January 1974, the Institute of Social Medicine, Biomedical Center, of the State University of Rio de Janeiro witnessed the articulation of the biopolitics tempered by the "birth of pathological anatomy," "the appearance of a statistical medicine," and "a technology of observation" (Foucault, 2006, p. 248). And he continues

> medicine has been a social activity since the eighteenth century. In a certain sense, 'social medicine' does not exist because all medicine is already social. Medicine has always been a social practice. What does not exist is non-social medicine, clinical individualizing medicine, medicine of the singular relation. All this is a myth that defended and justified a certain form of social practice of medicine: private professional practice. Thus, if in reality medicine is social, at least since its great rise in the eighteenth century, the present crisis is not really new, and its historical roots must be sought in the social practice of medicine (Foucault, 2004, p. 8).

The politicization of the concept of the population goes hand in hand with the commodification of the human body. Foucault articulates the political economy of medicine as such:

> Thus the human body has been brought twice over into the market: first by people selling their capacity to work, and second, through the intermediary of health. Consequently, the human body once again enters an economic market as soon as it

> is susceptible to diseases and health, to well being or to malaise, to joy or to pain, and to the extent that it is the object of sensations, desires, etc. As soon as the human body enters the market, through health consumption, various phenomena appear which lead to dysfunctions in the contemporary system of health and medicine (2004, p. 16).

This threefold logic of modern governing is genuinely described by Diana Coole. She draws the triad as such: "population is its target; the political economy is its major form of knowledge; the apparatuses (*dispositifs*) of security comprise its essential technical instrument" (Coole, 2015, p. 5). The point of departure here is to create affective lives. This is the politics of affect defined by Anderson as the "working out of the neoliberal problem of how to organize life according to the market" (Anderson, 2011, p. 40).

One of the most intense readings of Foucault indeed belongs to Thomas Lemke. In his celebrated work, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*, he recalls the etymology of the word bios, meaning the politics dealing with life in ancient Greek (*βίος: bíos*.) Still, he warns us about the other connotations of the concept. To say it in his words

> But this is where the problems start. What some people take to be a trivial fact ("Doesn't all politics deal with life?") marks a clear-cut criterion of exclusion for others. For the latter, politics is situated beyond biological life (Lemke, 2011, p. 2).

In that sense, for some, the motto is "letting die." This is different from the sovereign power's technique founded on Death. Death is a trace of sovereign power based on repressive and destructive policies and the severance of corporeal loyalty. For him, sovereignty is a modality of power grounded on "the right to take life or let live, i.e., the right to kill. The limit is now Death, but it is not in its privileged position. He states that

> the ancient right to take life or let live was replaced by a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death. […] Now it is over life, throughout its unfolding, that power establishes its domination: death is power's limit; the moment that escapes it; death becomes the most secret aspect of existence, the most 'private' (as cited in Bargu, 2014, p. 47).

Foucault, who lived in a century that saw two bloody world wars, did not, of course, argue that this limit had not been crossed. These bloody practices, of course, had an important place in his analysis, although perhaps not preoccupied with the discussion of eugenics. Ojakangas talks about Galton's conceptualization of eugenics, as aforementioned above, he paraphrases Foucault as such: Eugenics represents a crucial

element and could even be considered a pinnacle in the evolution of Western biopolitics (2016). For Foucault, biopower does not preclude sovereign power. On the contrary, it gives a new function, as Prozorov argues

> Foucault rejects any approach to Nazism as an abominable exception to the Western political tradition and instead treats it as a 'demonic' synthesis of sovereign and biopolitical techniques of government already operative in Western societies. […] The biopolitical logic of racism not only permits sovereign violence to survive in the climate hostile to it, but fortifies this violence by investing it with a wholly new function, no longer negative and repressive but rather oriented toward the preservation and improvement of the life of some races by annihilating the lives of the others (2017, p. 97).

Before moving to Hardt and Negri's conceptualization of biopolitics, it is important to remind what Foucault claims about this new power mechanism: "what brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life" (Foucault 1990, p. 143). In this section, I will delve into the paradigm of power articulated by Hardt and Negri, with specific attention given to their seminal works, *Empire* (2000) and *Multitude* (2004). They put forth a comprehensive interpretation of biopolitics, one that extends to encompass the concept of the social bios in a more expansive context.

> …the two axes of biopower are now more explicitly parsed as distinctive sociopolitical forms, with the diffuse network of *dispositifs* that figured in disciplinary society during Europe's first phase of capital accumulation yielding to a 'society of control' whereby biopower is distributed across citizens' bodies and minds until it becomes coextensive with the social. In this latter context biopower is a 'form of power that regulates social life from its interior, following it, interpreting it, absorbing it, and rearticulating it' (Coole, 2015, p. 9).

These two axes form the derivative of biopolitics with a particular excess of postmodernity. Hardt and Negri pinpoint the economic basis of this new phase focusing on cognitive capitalism and immaterial labor.

> The analysis of "empire" in Negri and Hardt is an attempt to formulate a conception of biopolitics that mediates between political-juridical power ("sovereignty") and economical power ("production") by shifting attention to the generation of surplus value through "cognitive capitalism" and "immaterial labor" which exploit the knowledge, creativity, affects and language of human beings more than their bodily labor-power (Vatter, 2009, p. 3).

It is no doubt that Agamben is the scholar touching the bloody side of biopower in the 20th century. He takes biopolitics to remedy the concept with the conception of law. In this section, I will argue the major concepts of Agamben in the context of biopolitics. These are *bare life*, *concentration camp*, *thanatapolitics*.

> Summarizing biopolitics as 'the growing inclusion of man's natural life in the mechanisms and calculations of power,' Agamben argues that his predecessor failed to consider the logical culmination of biopolitics in the twentieth-century totalitarian state: specifically, in its paradigmatic space, the concentration camp (Coole, 2015, p. 7).

The logical culmination of biopolitics, for Agamben, can be analyzed through "the concentration camp as a distinctive system of power" (Sofsky, 1996, p. 13). In *State of Exception* (2005), Agamben argues that what differentiates the modern form of state of exception is its attempt to internalize the exception as the rule of law. The concept of the concentration camp is the crystallized configuration of this state of exception. As Sofsky puts it

> It proceeds from the thesis that in the camps, a social form of power crystallized that was essentially different from the familiar types of power and domination. Absolute power should not be confused either with asymmetrical relations of exchange or with punitive power. Nor should it be confused with modern disciplinary power or with relations of domination founded on obedience. It is not based on exploitation, sanction, or legitimacy, but rather on terror, organization, and excessive violence (1996, p. 13).

Echoing Hegelian dialectical analysis of history, death and life are entangled and coexisted in the concept of the concentration camp. Death is no longer an exception. Sofsky debates the issue of killing in Agamben's theoretical armature.

> The end point of violence is killing. Killing is the total victory over the other. It is the emblem of absolute superiority. Violence cannot be further intensified beyond this terminus. Death is frequently the final, albeit cryptic reference point of permanent domination. However, the power to kill and the powerless fear of death were not latent determinants of the social relations in the camp. Killing was ever-present, predominant in the camp's everyday round, supreme. It was no exception; it was rank normality, routine. The power to kill turned prisoner society into a provisional society (1996, p. 24).

Surely the above excerpt from *The Order of Terror* was discussed at the beginning of the chapter in the context of the debate on modernity. Violence and killing are the characteristics of this form of power.

> The aim of violence now is no longer the subjugation of human beings, but the annihilation of alien creatures who cannot be considered human. The greater the threat appears, the stronger is the need to ward it off, or to find a bolstering confirmation for one's views. Images of the enemy create the fear that is then given vent in violence (Sofsky, 1996, p. 110).

In contrast to Foucault, Agamben emphasizes the need to reconsider the historical dimension of biopolitics. Agamben posits that the essence of biopolitics can be traced back to the very inception of the discourse on humanity itself. In essence,

> Biopolitics is then ipso facto as old as human language. The critics that accuse Agamben of 'dehistoricization' are therefore ultimately incorrect: what Agamben traces is indeed a historical event, albeit the one that took place long before European modernity or, for that matter, the Greek polis, but could be dated back to forty millennia ago (Agamben 2007, 9), i.e. the emergence of the human being as a speaking being (Prozorov, 2017, p. 103).

However, Agamben acknowledges the distinctiveness of modernity, a perspective also explored by Foucault as indicative of a novel manifestation of power. Agamben contextualizes the modern era in the following manner:

> For Agamben modernity is a condition of nihilism, in which the devaluation of all positive forms of life (*bios*) leaves disconcealed the foundational status of *zoē* as the negative foundation of the political order and the sole possible object of political power (Prozorov, 2017, p. 103).

The distinction between *bios* and *zoē* constitutes the 20th century's violence iconized by Nazism and Stalinism. In Agamben's words:

> The totalitarianism of our century has its ground in this dynamic identity of life and politics, without which it remains incomprehensible. If Nazism still appears to us as an enigma, and if its affinity with Stalinism is still unexplained, this is because we have failed to situate the totalitarian phenomenon in its entirety in the horizon of biopolitics (1998, p. 148).

I have meticulously traced the historical lineage of the concept known as *necropolitics* to its origins, which can be discerned in the seminal work of Giorgio Agamben, a prominent philosopher and intellectual luminary of the crisis era. Agamben's incisive articulation of the interplay between death and its significance within the broader discourse of corporeality, power dynamics, and systems of discipline constitutes a pivotal juncture in the intellectual development of this term. In the forthcoming section, the scholarly exploration shall persist as it embarks upon an in-depth inquiry into the multifaceted manifestations of death, bereavement, and pernicious acts of violence, all of which are subjected to rigorous scrutiny within the sociological paradigm. This analytical trajectory seeks to unravel the nuanced ways these facets are conceptualized, articulated, and contextualized within the framework of sociological thought, thereby contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the intricate tapestry of human existence amid crisis and tumultuous epochs.

4.4.2. From Life to Death

In the course of this conceptual odyssey traversing the spectrum from existence to mortality, the paramount emphasis shall be channeled toward the intricate examination

of how the dialectical interplay between the corporeal vessel and the inexorable phenomenon of death undergoes a process of problematization within the domain of sociological inquiry. This section, ensconced within the chapter's scholarly framework, will aptly serve as a locus where myriad references shall be marshaled, delving into the realms of corpse analysis, corporeal dissection, forensic methodologies, and the solemn rites of autopsy.

Concomitantly, the forthcoming discourse will endeavor to orchestrate an incisive exploration into the entwinement of political forces and the moribund, particularly as manifested in the context of mass atrocities, where corpses become a potent weapon in the arsenal of political subjugation. Additionally, the erudite endeavor shall traverse the byzantine terrain of comprehension vis-à-vis the dynamics of warfare and the ravages of urban desolation, all through the prism of the mortal remains that bear the indelible imprints of these grim realities.

4.4.2.1. Sociology of Death

Although the concept of death has considerable semantic fuzziness and terminological flexibility in philosophy and psychology, it remains a neglected area in the field of sociology. The leading figures in Sociology and Anthropology -Emile Durkheim and Bronislaw Malinowski are the most celebrated ones- focus mainly on funeral customs and death rites. However, they do not take it as a concept for analysis. In this part of the section, I will argue that mortuary is a socio-medical institution as a continuation of a broader conversation on biopolitics.

In the post-Second World War period, the sociology of death appeared as a subdiscipline to understand the mass violence of Nazism. Ruth McManus's *The Sociology of Death and Dying* (2017) was a guiding work for this part. In her essay, she situates the establishment of the sociology of death to the studies of van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage* (1960) and Fulton's *Death and Identity* (1960) works and also to the empirical studies on the death of Kephart's *Status after Death* (1950).

The dead body has constituted a subject of rigorous scrutiny across diverse disciplinary spectra, ranging from archaeology to the exacting domain of forensics. Moreover, it is

imperative to recognize that the connotations and symbolic significance attributed to the deceased physique exhibit a proclivity for variance, contingent upon the cultural, temporal, and contextual nuances at play. Thus, within this multifaceted purview, asserting that the post-mortem entity assumes a discernible socio-cultural manifestation remains entirely congruous.

In a notable contribution to the field of *Death Studies*, Howarth proffers a trenchant characterization of the deceased corporeal entity. He expounds upon it as a representation of "the loss of self and the loss of individuality," signifying the concrete actualization of mortality (Howarth, 2001, p. 120). Accordingly, once emblematic of an inherent natural order, the deceased body now exerts a perturbing influence upon the established fabric of societal equilibrium, precipitating a state of ontological disquietude within the social milieu (Howarth, 2001). This ontological disquietude is emblematic of the profound shift in the societal perception of the deceased body, indicative of its evolving symbolic and socio-cultural significance.

Scholars have also dealt with the impact of others' (or Other's) death on the living. As an existing thing with non-existence, the dead body has an ambivalent position in the ontological sense. Ariès is one of the scholars of this line of thought. He states

> The spectacle of the dead, whose bones were always being brought up to the surface of the cemeteries, as was the skull in Hamlet, made no more impression upon the living than did the idea of their own death. They were as familiar with their dead as they were familiarized with the idea of their own death (Ariès, 1974, p. 25).

The annals of history bear witness to a disconcerting litany of infamous concentration camps, among which Auschwitz, Treblinka, Sachsenhausen, Natzweiler, and Monowitz stand as indelible icons. These locales served as the sinister crucibles wherein the macabre theater of mass extermination unfolded during the tumultuous epoch of the Second World War. The categorical classification of these exterminations as mass killings hinges upon a requisite criterion of systematic and meticulously orchestrated orchestration. Implicit in this nomenclature is an overarching reference to the strategic and logistical calculus that underpins such acts of carnage.

To illustrate this, it is instructive to contrast the tragic fatalities resulting from an aviation accident with the harrowing specter of the Rwandan genocide in 1994. The distinguishing factor between the two lies in the methodical and organized nature of the latter, emblematic of a modern sociopolitical calculus. Sofsky, in his discerning

analysis, expounds upon the inherent political dimension of mass murder, delineating the intricate web of motivations, ideologies, and power dynamics that underlie this most grievous of human transgressions.

> Mass murder demands organization. Absolute power exceeds the threshold of excess and starvation at the point at which it transforms killing into work. Repeated killing is not a deed, a single act, but an activity with all the distinguishing features of work: a task done methodically, according to plan, over time, oriented to a goal, marked by bureaucratic efficiency and routine. Killing was centralized spatially, coordinated and standardized in its sequencing; it was functionally divided into segments, and technologically based to a limited extent. The victims of the killing stations in the concentration camps and "death factories" were nothing but an anonymous series. They were killed row by row. "Industrial" genocide, the factorylike annihilation of the Jews, transformed human beings into "material," "raw material" that was "exploited," and whose residua were disposed of without a trace. The system of absolute power reached its apogee in the death factories of Auschwitz and Treblinka (1996, p. 26).

Jacob Rogozinski's theoretical perspective posits that *genocide* is fundamentally rooted in the process of demonization, particularly in the context of the *Other*. Within the framework of dialectical selfhood, this conceptualization holds paramount significance. One can discern this interpretation as emblematic of a performative exercise akin to the act of *hunting*.

> This power of hunting operates through dispositif bodies. Stigmatizing, disciplining, taming, schematizing... Each and every one of these dispositifs generates the 'pretext' components necessary to carry out the processes of slaughter. The dispositifs alter the 'real' components in line with their own perception of the hunt. While the inspiration for the 'witch hunt' witch comes from the genuine one, its design is uniquely associated with the hunt itself. The medieval, primal, and sacred aspects of this hunt take a back seat to the modern, Western, and political aspects. In this context, the dispensations of power created for the slaughter before the 'slaughter' are decisive[71] (as cited in Kardeş, 2019, p. 40).

Genocide, when subjected to an academic lens, metamorphoses into a complex power economy predicated upon the bedrock of hatred and the process of dehumanizing the *Other*. Drawing from the theoretical perspective of Carl Schmitt, a prominent Nazi jurist, the phenomenon can be elucidated as a shift from the realm of the *real enemy* to that of the *absolute enemy*, constituting a profoundly pathological denouement. In

---

[71] Original text: "Bu avlama iktidarı dispozitif bedenler üzerinden işler. Damgalama, terbiye etme, yola getirme, şematize etme …Tüm dispozitifler kıyım süreçlerinin 'bahanesi' olan unsurları bizzat kendisi yaratmaktadır. 'Gerçek' unsurlar, dispozitifler tarafından kendi av algısına uygun bir şekilde dönüştürülür. 'Cadı avının' cadısı, malzemesini gerçeğinden alsa da tasarımı ava aittir. Bu avın modern, Batılı ve politik nitelikleri Orta çağa özgü, ilkel ve dini sıfatlarından daha belirgindir. Bu bağlamda 'kıyım'dan önce kıyım için oluşturulmuş iktidar dispozitifleri belirleyicidir."

this transformation, genocide emerges as a meticulously orchestrated and systematically executed practice, bereft of any cogent, rational, or causal explication. The underpinnings of such a cataclysmic event defy traditional modes of rational inquiry, confounding attempts to discern logical causality.

> However, the first thing that the logic of slaughter teaches us is that hatred of the 'demonized enemy' is 'unjustified' from the outset. Hatred manifests itself in mass without reason. Xenophobia, racism, and religious bigotry operate without reason. [...] The lynch flock is never a genuine political agent[72] (Kardeş, 2019, p. 43).

War is a deadly practice of humanity simply based on the annihilation of the *Other*. In addition to spaces, boundaries, identities, monumental buildings, the corporeality of human beings is one of the targets of the fighting forces. This can be summarized as the negativity of *Death* based on the maxim "all bones are rubble." In a very clear statement, Gordillo identifies human bones as having "a highly recognizable form that affects the living more so than do most other ruins, especially when their form and disposition reveal that a large number of people were killed together and at once (2014, p. 225). During war times which can be characterized as the possibility of killing "a large number of people together at once," the body becomes the theatre of war. In his inspiring essay, Sharghi defines the soldier's body as

> the prime locus where power is exercised. However, although the body is the subject of war, it is also the object: able to prosecute the war and employed to exercise violence itself. Fundamentally, there is power on one side in defence attempting to transform and subdue the body or to kill and destroy its potential, while on the other side, there is the attacking government that obliges the body in different ways to fight as a weapon in order to advance their political objectives (2019, p. 37).

According to the far-famed international medical journal JAMA, an autopsy is

> 'self-seeing' or 'seeing for oneself,' ie, direct firsthand observation, contrasting with what someone else has recorded or declared. It represents the opposite of 'hearsay' evidence. The autoptic' investigator demands personal first-hand knowledge. […] It indicates two important attributes, curiosity on the one hand and on the other a demand for empirical demonstration, personally observed (JAMA, 1965, p. 100).

This line of inquiry serves as the foundational underpinning of the methodological framework within this thesis. To elucidate, the "autoptic investigation" model shall be

---

[72] Original text: "Ancak kıyım mantığının bize öğrettiği ilk şey 'şeytanlaştırılmış düşmana' duyulan nefretin başlangıcından itibaren 'sebepsiz' olmasıdır. Nefret sebepsiz olarak kendisini kitlesellikte dışa vurmaktadır. Göçmenlere duyulan nefret, farklı etnik kimliklere, din mensuplarına duyulan nefret sebepsiz olarak işlemektedir. […] Linç sürüsü hiçbir zaman hakiki bir politik fail değildir."

employed as a tool for the scrupulous examination of the corporeal metaphor inherent in the urban space. While the metaphorical use of this model may seem to evoke a sense of naturalism and organicism in the context of spatial and urban discourse, it is imperative to underscore that it functions primarily as a conceptual apparatus. Central to this exposition is the compelling argument that the deceased body, along with its dissection, assumes a pivotal role in delineating the essence of politics, a construct we may aptly call *forensic politics*. The crux of this inquiry revolves around interrogating the Schmittian conceptualization of the political sphere and the intricate theory of enmity. This scholarly endeavor seeks to unravel the intricate interplay between the metaphorical and the substantive, inextricably interwoven within the tapestry of urban space and its socio-political implications.

In considering the notion of "killing" with respect to an urban center and the subsequent examination thereof, if we are to concur on the analogy of an urban structure's demise, an intellectual exploration of this domain becomes requisite. This section embarks upon a concerted endeavor to deconstruct the very fabric of urbanity, employing the lens of architectural analysis to elucidate the process of urban destruction. Consequently, this scholarly inquiry shall be denoted as *forensic architecture*. Eyal Weizman describes this attempt as investigating *violence at the threshold of detectability* (2017). He anchors his conceptualization of forensic architecture upon a nuanced theoretical framework deeply concerned with the materiality intrinsic to this process:

> Every material object can be read as a sensor, but buildings might be among the best sensors of societal and political change. There are several reasons: buildings are immobile, anchored in space; they are in close and constant interaction with humans; they are exposed both to the elements outside them and to an artificially controlled climate within. And this besides embodying, of course, the political, social, strategic, and financial rationalities that went into their conception (Weizman, 2017, p. 52).

Emerging from the residual vestiges of a lifeless corporeal entity or a material construct, which in this context can extend to encompass the very urban environment, forensic architecture manifests as an assertive bid for inclusion within the annals of architectural historiography. This assertion assumes particular salience within the contemporary milieu, a period characterized by a notable tendency within the discipline to eschew the exploration of building materiality in favor of an exclusive

focus on the historical narratives of architectural practitioners and the archival remnants they bequeath to posterity (Weizman, 2017, p. 53).

4.4.3. Necropolitics: Power of Death

Led by Achille Mbembe, the theory of necropolitics is grounded on the concept of biopower, which Foucault describes as the power which has the authority on the life and the death of the bodies. This ability to decide life and death is the main characteristic of the power itself, which Mbembe defines as necropolitics or necropower. Necropolitics, to paraphrase Mbembe, is the subjection of life to death. The basic contours and features of the sovereign are drawn by the fundamental ability to decide who will live or die. This is also argued by queer theorist Judith Butler, especially in her work called "Precarious Life." Like Mbembe, Butler also pinpoints the foundational feature of the power to decide who can mourn, who is not allowed, and who is valued to be mourned and who is not. In the context of my research, the necropolitical understanding of power will be discussed in terms of the underlying power mechanism within the issue of city killing. In this thesis, in order to bring a systematic conceptualization of urbicide, which is based on three other dimensions - space, memory, and war- the modality of power and its relation with the mass killing are placed at the very center of the argumentation. As part of the urbicide, there is a mentality that casts up the life and death statistics not only in terms of the human population but also the urban fabric. According to this power mechanism, some urban practices must be eliminated and some promoted. For my research area, this understanding will be generative thinking to conceptualize the term urbicide.

As a murderous state, Nazi Germany, was the theatre of death camp. In a situation where the legal protection of those inside the camp is completely suspended and, in this sense, the social contract is now completely broken for a section of society, for Agamben it is now necessary to speak of a state of exception. The boundary drawn with the camp is not only a boundary between inside and outside. It also separates *bios* and *zoē*, life and death. Those who remain inside the camp are now *homo sacer*. The fact that the lives worth living in the scope of calculations of power become citizens through the disciplinary health regime is not explanatory enough for a post-Nazi world

centered on death. The fact that under the dominance of Eugenics and Euthanasia, bodies reduced to bare life, whose killing is not a legal matter, can now be understood through a kind of *zoēpolitics* (Coole, 2015, p. 8).

The apartheid and Nazism were the two exceptional instantiations of power relations in the 20th century, which are centered on the human body. In Agamben's conceptualization, the human body, *zoē* has become both the primary agent and the object within enmity politics. This is stated within the context of Nazism by Esposito as such:

> This was especially the case under Nazism, which transformed the medical care of life into a sort of lethal surgery aimed at saving the body politic, by removing the part that it considered to be infected. But although biopolitics is always at risk of reversing itself into a form of thanatopolitics, this does not mean that the two are necessarily identical. A politics of life always comes as a reaction to a politics focused on life. The human body is central to this conflict (2015, p. 143).

In this section, I will deal with the conceptualization of necropolitics as a new form of subjugating with reference to the classics of the literature. Thus, the scrutiny of the concept will help us to understand a new form of power relations crystallized in the urbicide.

4.4.3.1. Mbembe: From Biopolitics to Necropolitics

According to Mbembe, Foucauldian conceptualization of biopolitics is insufficient to understand the contemporary forms of power relations based on "subjugating life to the power of death" (2019, p. 92). In a very brief way of saying, necropolitics is "the creation of 'death-worlds' in which there is maximal destruction of persons, livelihood, and the planet as such" (Douglas, 2020, p. 754). Thus, it goes beyond the scope of classical biopolitics discussions, which prioritizes the regulation and control of living things. Instead, it dives into the manipulation of death, namely how particular communities are made more vulnerable to violence and mortality via high vulnerability and precarity circumstances. It is a form of subjugation through death. Mbembe describes this form of subjugation as "ruling through terror" where "spatialization and colonization operate together" (Rouse, 2021, p. 362). Rouse clarifies the very idea of necropolitics by discussing the experiences of Black Americans during Covid-19 as such: "Necropolitics offers a political rationalization

for killing available to all, even those who rightly and wrongly feel oppressed" (2021, p. 363). In that sense, what is missing in Foucault's biopolitics is to explain "why certain groups are targeted for racialization and exclusion, while others are not" (Rouse, 2021, p. 365).

As discussed earlier in this section, biopolitical control emphasizes the regulation and management of life. However, in the context of necropolitics, this control extends to the power to destroy and discard certain lives deemed disposable or expendable. State-sanctioned violence, extrajudicial executions, genocide, forced displacement, and structural violence are all ways to accomplish this goal of systemic marginalization and devaluation of specific groups. In addition, non-state actors also engage in necropolitics. Non-state actors may also exercise necropolitical power via terror, ethnic cleansing, and targeted violence committed by armed militias, terrorist groups, and criminal organizations. Necropolitical practices have become more prevalent as authoritarian regimes have gained power and democratic norms have eroded in many areas of the globe.

Although the emphasis shifts to death with Mbembe, they agree with Foucault on something: the nature of that sovereignty. Foucault, in his *Society Must Be Defended* lectures, asserts, "the sovereign exercised his right of life only by exercising his right to kill, or by refraining from killing; he evidenced his power over life only through the death he was capable of requiring" (Foucault, 1990, p. 136). Therefore, in the act of killing, the sovereign exerts his claim over life. Dialectics works, as Aquilina claims, "Dead politics […] is not where politics is dead, but rather where politics lives on and works through death and the dead" (2019, p. 6). Mbembe, skeptical about the explicative power of the concept of biopolitics for the sovereignty of contemporary society, questions

> the political, under the guise of war, of resistance, or of the fight against terror, makes the murder of the enemy its primary and absolute objective? War, after all, is as much a means of achieving sovereignty as a way of exercising the right to kill. Imagining politics as a form of war, we must ask: What place is given to life, death, and the human body (in particular the wounded or slain body)? How are they inscribed in the order of power? (2003, p. 12).

Addressing Hegel's conceptualizations of death, consciousness and subjectivation, Mbembe argues that in the painful and agonizing journey of self-consciousness, it first negates nature through work and labor and then voluntarily goes to its own death

(negation) by recreating the negated nature. In other words, subjectivation is the subject's journey to death through work and struggle. In this sense, "becoming subject therefore supposes upholding the work of death" (Mbembe, 2003, p. 14). Necropower, which operates only through a state of emergency and the concept of fictionalized hostility, in this case, puts "one's entire life" at risk (Mbembe, 2003, p. 15).

The subject transcends nature and confronts a consciousness like itself. This is a battle to the death because consciousness desires to be recognized by the Other it encounters on its journey to self-knowledge. One's fear of death and the other's risking life in the face of death are the only conditions for the continuation of this journey. In other words, for a subject to be constituted, no one must die in this encounter with death. The fear of death, on the other hand, leads to subjectification as the consciousness that continues its journey dominates nature by working. In this case, how can the sovereign, who needs a living subject to rule, be explained in necropolitics? In other words, how does a sovereign who lives by killing maintain its sovereignty? Aquilina answers this question with reference to Mbembe as follows:

> For this to happen, the slave must survive without surviving; or, rather, he must survive but not live. The lord 'must leave him life and consciousness, and destroy only his autonomy', which means, effectively, that the slave 'who has been defeated and spared' remains 'a living corpse'—and here we are recalled to Mbembe's living dead (2019, p. 98).

There is a strong connection between necropolitics and urbicide. Urbicide is used to implement necropolitical agendas by the use of destructive force. Urban spaces, being densely populated and symbolically charged, become ideal arenas for the politics of death. The destruction of cities by the upheaval of social, cultural, and economic systems displaces populations and renders individuals more vulnerable to various forms of violence and death. More than that, necropolitical dominance may be seen in the act of urbicide. The perpetrators exert their power and control over life and death by affixing to urban infrastructure, residential areas, and memorials, turning these places into landscapes of terror, abandonment, and despair. The obliteration of architectural and cultural heritage compounds the suffering of afflicted populations by wiping out decades of communal memory and identity.

It is an oxymoron utterance to use both Necroresistance and survival politics within the same sentence. On the one hand, there is resistance to the annihilation of one's

body as a political weapon. On the other hand, there is politics coming from the very idea of life itself. In that part, it is valuable to focus on this unique type of resistance concerning Banu Bargu's outstanding work on the hunger strikes at the very beginning of the 2000s in Turkey.

4.5. Urbicide through Space, Time, War, and Necropolitics

In this chapter, I have gone through the philosophical underpinnings of urbicide's four cornerstones in an effort to provide the idea with a more comprehensive framework. I touched on a broad variety of theoretical frameworks, from space theories to the philosophy of time, from new war conceptualizations to the political philosophy theorized by necropolitics via the corpse. Although these theories' claims and techniques do not always line up, they are offered in an effort to help us make sense of the understanding of urban destruction and the arrhythmia that occurs due to destructive violence based on the politics of death. The essential concerns of the theories are retained without distortion in order to prevent an eclectic understanding, and the ways in which they overlap with each other are highlighted so that they may be utilized as a conceptual tool in the quest to conceptualize urbicide (*figure-8*). It is obvious that the theoretical understanding I outline throughout this chapter is cast in the shadow of Henri Lefebvre's groundbreaking theoretical approach. To complement my intellectual effort in the theoretical discussion of the thesis, I have drawn on the works of Walter Benjamin, Giorgio Agamben, Gaston Bachelard, Manuel de Landa, Achille Mbmembe, Eyal Weizmann, Stephen Graham, Martin Coward, and Ertan Kardeş, among others.

The researcher has to have a firm grasp on these four tenets that I summed up in this chapter before claiming that destruction constitutes urbicide. The first of these is the spatiality of urbicide. What exactly are we talking about when we refer to space? Lefebvre accurately focused the spotlight on how space is socially created, challenging the metric and Euclidean canonical view of space. When viewed through a social lens, we encounter a conceptualization of space that is much more different than simply occupying space in a coordinate system. The term socially generated space refers to any area that is the result of human interaction and of the design of physical space. From this point of view, it is obvious that the construction (existence) of space as well

as its destruction (absence), should be read through social lenses. Demolition is more than just the process by which something that already existing alters its shape and becomes debris. It must be handled in a dialectical process. The fact that the Arabic terms for "enkaz" (debris) and "tenakuz" (contradiction), respectively, come from the same root helps to illustrate the relationship. Both words come from the Arabic root *nḳḍ*, which means to destroy, ravage, invalidate, and trip. Debris means *harabat*, the plural of ruin. On the other side, the dialectical process described by the term *tenakuz* is described as contradiction, self-destruction. To fully comprehend the impact of destruction on space, it is necessary to approach it with a similar mindset as when analyzing production of it - through the lenses of absence, deconstruction, and death. This entails not only considering the physical debris left behind, but also the process of deconstruction and the experiences of those affected.

Simultaneously, space is a concept with varying panoramas and interpretable angles. The destruction experienced carries different psychosocial and cultural meanings in different sceneries of the city. Plus, destruction hotspots above and below ground vary in kind in a qualitative way.

Secondly, this thesis claims that such destructive violence has a temporal aspect. At this juncture, the conceptual tools provided by Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis method are crucial. To make sense of the temporal disruptions in cities caused by conflict, the idea of syncope is crucial in settings where disorder and uncertainty materialize. In the context of the existing study, by pursuing the theory of rhythmanalysis of Lefebvre, one of the major problematizations is what kind of an urban experience the city dwellers have when there is an arrhythmia in everyday life as a result of the destruction of the urban fabric with an attempt of wiping out the collective memory by the destruction of the monuments. The question then boils down to the investigation of the impacts of the syncope in the rhythm for the concept of urban experience.

War, as we consider it within the scope of this study, is simply a deadly human practice based on the destruction of the Other. It is the performance of two warring powers to expand their power sphere by subjugating the Other for themselves by using various equipment depending on the technological development of the day. In today's *disoriented* wars, this performance is drawn into a deadly political field where the result is the blurring of lines between civilians and soldiers. In addition to spaces,

borders, identities, and monumental structures, human corporeality is also one of the targets of the warring forces. This can be summarized as the negativity of Death, based on the maxim that bones are rubble. Therefore, human bones are the main tool of war and the target of war itself, affecting the survivors more than other skeletal experiences, especially when it is revealed that a large number of people were killed together at the same time. In this sense, it is very important to consider war within the framework of necropolitical power.

Achille Mbembe's theory of necropolitics can be summarized as treating the dead in the context of power. Sovereignty is defined by its ultimate right to choose who lives and who dies, which also serves as a defining trait. Mbembe calls this method of subjugation rule by terror and explains that it is achieved via the collaboration of spatialization and colonization. The colonial context lends conceptual weight to the practice of discipline via the use of dead corpses. The modern era is defined as a period in which the holocaust, apartheid, and mass killings were fetishized. The bloodiest and most deadly human massacres that history has ever witnessed took place in this period. The real experience of this man-made catastrophe is rooted in the modern way of thinking that separates the human from the non-human. Modern reason, inherited from the Enlightenment, created an ontological hierarchy between subject and object, prioritizing the former. As mentioned above, this posthumanist situation, which Latour defines as a purification that separates fields "creating two separate ontological zones," defines modernity as the birth of nonhumanity (Latour, 1993, p. 10). The conception of power that we address in this thesis is based on the fetishization and institutionalization of death and destruction.

CHAPTER 5

URBICIDE IN DİYARBAKIR, SUR

count what was bitter and kept you awake,

count me among them

Paul Celan, "Count the Almonds"

Garden of Memories[73], begun in 1996 and completed in 1999, was designed as a sculptural garden by Dani Karavan with the concept of a sculptural garden enveloping waves of grass shaping the landscape, which is protected by white retaining walls. The park preserved part of the old building intact, incorporating the physical memory of the site into this landscape sculpture. The staircase structure and steel columns of the old building are recorded in the park to remind the history of the harbor, while the areas where these structures are located are marked. The plastic undulating area created by Karavan on the ground is a transformative work that creates a space for social communication, as it is used as a bicycle path for children, a walkable path, and a bench to sit on. Karavan's sculpted garden, the large industry leaving the area, and the inclusion of the existing buildings and structures in work bring new possibilities, transforming this industrial area into a place for people.

> All the elements of the park – with the exception of the newly planted trees, which were distributed in an open pattern – follow this strategy and are oriented according to the ground plans of buildings that have been demolished, or respond to the fanned-out ground figure of the Jewish community centre. Karavan *traced* the outlines of previous buildings with bands of white concrete and low supporting walls. He then cut connecting paths into this system of lines, some of them paved with material from *demolished buildings* he found on site. Two isolated staircase towers have iron reinforcement rods that still seem to be stretching out to join up with the buildings they used to be attached to, *now demolished* (Weilacher, 2005, p. 68).

---

[73] See: https://www.danikaravan.com/portfolio-item/germany-garden-of-memories/

In this sense, my theoretical analysis of Diyarbakır Sur is similar to Dani Karavan's artistic endeavor in *Garden of Memories*. That is, the main goal of this study is to draw an outline of urban destruction through the ruins of the war and to add a new dimension to the conceptualizations of urban and urbicide by following these traces.

Urbanized war is undoubtedly an important concept that can be used to explain the tutelage wars in the Middle East. International mobility is a topic that triggers intense discussions across several fields. According to Tuzi (2019), the debate surrounding global migration is not caused by the volume of individuals moving, but rather the clustering of activity in particular locales. Global migration is distinguished by its erratic, unequal, and intricate characteristics, which appear in different magnitudes, forms, transportation methods, and supervisory measures. Moreover, it is crucial to account for the effects of global migration on social, financial, governmental, and cultural connections (Güngördü, 2021, p. 2). The case of Turkey is one of the unique examples in this regard. In Turkey, the process that signifies the above-mentioned situation took place in the Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia regions. Before proceeding with the analysis, it is necessary to consider what happened in the region where the war took place from a historical perspective.

The Kurdish Question is a multifaceted and decades-old problem that centers on the struggle for Kurdish recognition, autonomy, and the defense of cultural and political rights. The Kurds are one of the largest ethnic groups in the world without a recognized state, spread across several countries in the Middle East, including Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Their history is marked by repression, marginalization, and intermittent armed conflicts. The main challenge in Turkey is the contradictory perspectives on the nature and solution of the problem. Even the naming of the issue becomes an ideological stance when discussing the question. In this context, the problem in Turkey is characterized by various concepts with different political references ranging from the state's assimilation policies to Kurdish separatism (Ünver, 2015, p. 3). The most well-known of these are the Kurdish Problem, Kurdish Issue, Minority Problem, Citizenship Problem, Turkish-Kurdish Conflict, and No-Prop.

In official state records, relations with the Kurdish people are traced back to the rise of the Ottoman Empire, and the deterioration of relations is attributed to the West taking advantage of the East's transformation into fatalistic and lazy societies due to

religion and implementing the mechanism of exploitation. For example, Elphinston, starts The Kurdish national movement against the state in Turkey with "a revolt of the feudal leaders against Sultan Mahmuds attempt in 1826 to break their power and install local governors" (Elphinston, 1946, p. 91). Classical nationalism, which rose with the Westphalian system, was a movement that found response in Anatolia as well as in the West.

> In the half century that followed the overthrow of the Kurdish emirates in the mid-nineteenth century, the idea that the Kurds constituted a distinct "nation" in the modern sense of the word began to gain ground, not only among intellectuals exposed to western education but also traditional segments of Kurdish society. However, the realization that the Kurds constituted "a nation" did not elicit a uniform response as the experience of different social groups of modernization differed greatly. Thus, a variety of "Kurdist" political discourses come to the fore, ranging from separatist Kurdish nationalism, calling for the formation of a Kurdish state, to accommodationalist Kurdism, which saw the future of the Kurds tied to other Ottoman elements. Nor did these developments signify an emergence of an organized Kurdish movement. It was only in the aftermath of the July 1908 Young Turk Revolution and the overthrow of the Hamidian autocracy that the growth of Kurdish political consciousness translated into an organized political force (Bajalan, 2013, p. 20).

In fact, with such a series of events, the study of Kurds, especially the study of Kurdish language and history, began to attract academic attention in the second half of the 19th century (Bajalan, 2013, p. 4). With the establishment of the Republic, serious policies were developed for the Kurds in parallel with the regime's nation-building project. The ambitious modernization and nation-state construction policies, together with the nation-building and state centralization of the pro-secular governing elites, constructed a problem of nationhood that persists to this day. The 1920s and 1930s saw a string of Kurdish uprisings in response to this (Somer, 2022, p. 8). Although the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) included provisions for the establishment of a Kurdish state in the aftermath of World War I, but the boundaries were changed with the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), which prevented the establishment of a Kurdish country. This nation-building project included not only the creation of homogeneous and, therefore, controllable subjects but also an effort to create its own bourgeoisie for the new Republic, which was transitioning from a feudal regime to a capitalist state. The heterogeneous structure of Anatolia was dismantled along with its peoples, especially those who tried to preserve this structure. In Amir Celadet Ali Bedirxan's letter to Mustafa Kemal, he mentions this homogenization and Turkification project with concern:

> At the center of the committee, bloody assassinations were being planned against the non-Turkic population. I am identifying the targets and describing the characteristics of these assassinations: it is the Turkification of all the nations who live within the Ottoman Empire boundaries. The annihilation and assimilation of these identities will be molded into a new nation and race within Turkey (Amir Celadet Ali Bedirxan, Letter to Mustafa Kemal from a Kurdish Intellectual, Doz Publications, October 1992, p. 24).

Historiographical efforts such as the Turkish language theory and the Turkish history thesis were implemented throughout the country as part of the state's Turkification project. Zeydanlıoğlu describes this Turkification project as follows:

> The transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish nation-state gave way to a violent nationalism promoted and defended by the Turkish military elites. With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, a program of Turkification was launched to create a homogenous Turkish nation. Nation-state-hood was seen as the criteria for Turkey's 'Western-ness,' but the ethno-religious diversity of the country was an obstacle to this project. With the intensification of the nation-building process, the dilution of the largest linguistically distinct non-Turkish group, the Kurds, became a civilizational necessity. 'Kurdishness' was interpreted as a threat to the territorial integrity or as an anachronism. Throughout the twentieth century, military and ideological offensives resulted in waves of Turkification and systematic state coercion, with the Kurdish provinces under emergency rule for the best part of modern Turkey's history. The relationship between Turkish modernity, torture and the Turkification of Kurds has largely been neglected by scholars. This is despite the fact that torture has been a widespread and systematic practice in Turkey, targeting all sectors of society considered as 'others.' This chapter places torture at the heart of Turkish modernity and nation-building process and analyses the use of torture as a tool for forced assimilation (2010, p. 67).

Against all these insurgencies, diplomatic efforts, and historical initiatives, the state's response, especially with the coups, was to label the Kurdish as the enemy. For example, in the official publication of the General Staff War History Directorate, prepared by retired Staff Colonel Reşat Hallı, the Kurdish politician Saidi Kurdi, who is called the separatist enemy, is mentioned as follows: "Both Saidi Kurdi, the Kurdish politician who wanted to divide the Ottoman State under the veil of religion, and Derviş Vahdeti, who wanted to benefit from this adventure, were actually just pawns. It was only after the blood of thousands of Turks and Muslims had been shed that their masks fell off and their true colors were revealed" (General Staff War Department, 1972, p. 4). In the same official records, the following is said about the peoples labeled as enemies and their uprisings:

> In the recent past and during the years of the War of Independence, we have seen that the Greeks all over the country, with their secret and insidious activities, worked with all their might for the collapse of the state as soon as possible in order to realize their ambitions and purposes as soon as possible. The Mavri Mira Society was established in the Patriarchate of Istanbul, the Scout Organization established in

> Greek schools, and the Pontus Society, which opened branches in Trabzon, Samsun, and all Black Sea coasts under the headquarters in Istanbul, were the centers that directed and carried out destructive activities.
>
> The Armenians, too, were engaged in subversive activities no less than the Russians. Likewise, the Kurdish movements in the eastern provinces, which had been inculcated by the British and Russians, were also alarming. Because in the provinces of Diyarbakir, Bitlis, Van, and Elazig, the Kurdish Teali Society, which was administered from Istanbul, aimed and endeavored to establish a Kurdish government under the auspices of a foreign state.
>
> The Circassians were also trying to establish an independent Circassian government in Balıkesir, Bursa, Bandırma and parts of the Aegean region through the activities of organizations such as the Near East Circassians and the Temini Law Society. For this, they received the greatest support from the British[74] (General Staff War Department, 1972, p. 7).

Individuals occupying positions of authority within the state apparatus exhibited a proclivity for endorsing narratives that negated the very existence of the Kurdish minority, as observed by Somer (2022, pp. 8-9). A pertinent illustration of this phenomenon can be discerned in the actions of Cemal Gürsel, who served as the Prime Minister during the historical juncture in question. Notably, Gürsel authored the preface for M. Şerif Fırat's treatise entitled *Doğu İlleri ve Varto Tarihi* [*Eastern Provinces and the History of Varto*], wherein he articulated the following perspective regarding the Kurdish minority:

> At no time in history has there been a foreign migration to our Eastern Provinces that would leave a residue of today's inhabitants. There is no race in the world with an independent identity that can be called "Kurdish." Kurds are not only our citizens but also our kinsmen.. However, centuries of mismanagement and neglect and their tendency to live in isolation have unfortunately led to this result. Those who wish to destroy the Turkish nation and the Turkish homeland by fragmenting them seek to take advantage of this[75] (1961, p. 3).

---

[74] Original text: "Yakın geçmişte ve İstiklal Savaşı senelerinde gördük ki, memleketin her tarafındaki Rumlar, gizli ve sinsi faaliyetleri ile emel ve maksatlarının bir an önce gerçekleşmesi için, devletin en kısa zamanda çökmesine var kuvvetleri ile çalıştılar. İstanbul Patrikhanesinde teşkil ettikleri Mavri Mira Cemiyeti, Rum okullarında kurdukları İzci Teşkilatı, İstanbul'daki merkeze bağlı Trabzon, Samsun ve bütün Karadeniz kıyılarında şubelerini açtıkları Pontus Cemiyeti, yıkıcı faaliyetleri yöneten ve yürüten merkezlerdi. Ermeniler de, Rumlardan geri kalmayan yıkıcı faaliyet çabası içinde idiler. Keza, doğu illerinde evvelden beri özellikle İngilizler ve Ruslar tarafından aşılanmış olan Kürtçülük cereyanları da endişe verici idi. Çünkü Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Van, Elazığ illerinde İstanbul'dan idare edilen Kürt Teali Cemiyeti, yabancı devlet himayesinde bir Kürt hükümeti kurmak gayesinde ve çabasında idi. Çerkezler de; Yakın – Doğu Çerkezleri, Temini Hukuk Cemiyeti gibi teşekküllerin giriştikleri faaliyetle Balıkesir, Bursa, Bandırma havalisi ile Ege bölgesinin bir kısmında bağımsız bir Çerkez hükümeti kurmak emeli ve çabasında idiler. Bunun için de en büyük desteği İngilizlerden gördüler."

[75] Original text: "Tarihin hiçbir devrinde, Doğu İllerimize bugünkü sakinlerini tortu bırakacak yabancı bir göç vaki olmamıştır. Dünya üzerinde "Kürt" diye adlandırılabilecek müstakil hüviyetli bir ırk yoktur. Kürtler, yalnız vatandaşımız değil, soydaşımızdır da.. Fakat, asırlarca devam eden kötü idare ve ihmaller, onların da kapalı yaşama itiyatları maalesef bu neticeyi doğurmuştur. Türk milletini ve Türk vatanını parçalayarak yok etmek sevdasında olanlar, bundan faydalanmanın peşinde koşuyorlar."

The commanding figure at the helm of the tumultuous September 12 coup, President Kenan Evren, adhered to the precedent set by his predecessor, Cemal Gürsel, and perpetuated the official policy of disavowal regarding the existence of the Kurdish identity within the state. In a pronounced articulation of this stance, President Evren asserted, "there is no such thing as a Kurd. They are mountain Turks. It is a concept derived from the 'kart-kurt' sounds emitted when our citizens in the southeastern regions traverse snowy terrain. It is for this reason that they have been colloquially referred to by this nomenclature" (Ünver, 2015, p. 121).

This succinct preamble, dedicated to elucidating the region's historical underpinnings, serves as an indispensable backdrop for the ensuing section of this scholarly investigation. In the forthcoming analytical segment, I shall embark upon an introductory exposition of my research domain, a foundational precursor for comprehending the thematic intricacies that will be the focal point of our scrutiny. The significance of this contextual elucidation lies in its role as an essential framework for contextualizing the thematic dimensions that our analysis endeavors to explore. A more profound excavation of this contextual terrain unveils that the post-2015 period, while constituting a pivotal juncture within the historical narrative under consideration, simultaneously emerges as a distinct qualitative epoch within this overarching historical continuum. Such a historical analysis is poised to illuminate the urbicide in Diyarbakır Sur from a comprehensive historical perspective, thereby unveiling its unique and distinctive attributes within the broader historical narrative.

This attempt to understand the Kurdish Question in Turkey will begin with an examination of a modern-day story and a process of nation-building. Afterward, we will move on to the data analysis part of the fieldwork, where we have already touched upon the data collection process in the previous section. Before coming into details about the analysis part, I will touch upon my MAXqda coding program, my themes, and the analysis process with the help of digital tools. The coding process, the methods applied, the problems encountered, and what I did not expect will be the topics to be discussed in this part. The next sections will focus on the fundamental ideas gleaned from the literature on *space, memory, war, necropolitics*, and *urbicide*. Each part of the section contains one and more than one interview question, which are designed according to this fractionation. The bole of the questions is the concept of the urbicide. Within the context of CDA, I assess the visualizations while keeping in mind Jason

Francisco's (2005) caution. In particular, three lines of inquiry are required, with Francisco's (2005) important proviso, to grasp the effect of the war on the city and its residents via the lens of the visual material employed to do so. To quote him:

> First, to determine what photographs were actually made of any given war, by whom and under what circumstances; second, to specify which of these were published and circulated contemporaneously, and in what forms; third, to delineate the ways that photographs subsequently appeared or disappeared from public view, in what contexts and with what impact (Francisco, 2005, p. 1637).

Consequently, the visual artifacts employed in this study, inclusive of maps, photographs, and tables, are presented within the scholarly discourse accompanied by annotations elucidating their contextual relevance, thematic content, and inherent political orientation. This approach is conscientiously undertaken to engender a nuanced understanding of the visual materials, mindful of the inherent complexities and interpretive nuances therein.

5.1. Theatre of War after 2015

My first intent while coming up with the very first idea for this study was to study urbicide in the Middle East. This comprehensive reading, including Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Lebanon, and Palestine, would not only facilitate a more systematic conceptualization of the concept of urbicide but also provide historical and geographical unity. I narrowed my field area for the reasons I discussed in the introduction, and research design chapters, including Turkey's political climate, the illegal and punishing procedures I had to go through, economic constraints, insufficient (almost nonexistent) funding for research in Turkey, and language difficulties brought on by the area's multi-ethnic nature. This study, which had been reduced to the scale of Turkey, focused on the Southeast region, where most of the post-2015 devastation took place, in the process of determining the next scale. In the first two years of the thesis, I focused on literature review and field contacts for the region. At this point, we can give the floor to Aras and take a brief look at what happened at that time.

> Recently, the Turkish military has informed public about underground tunnels constructed by members of the KWP in Nisêbîn. Meanwhile, we do not have any accurate data about possible tunnels in other parts of the Turkish-Syrian border. In 2015, the KWP started a city war against the Turkish forces with a declaration of

> "self-governance" particularly in the cities of Sur and Silvan (Farqîn) in Diyarbakır (Amed), Cizre (Cizîre), Silopi (Silopî), ¸ Sırnak (¸Sirnex), Dargeçit (Kerboran), Derik (Derika Çîyayê Mazî) and Nusaybin (Nisêbîn) in Mardin (Merdîn)and in other cities in the region. During the urban clashes in different cities in the Kurdish region, KWP members were digging ditches, trenches, occupying locals' houses, setting landmine traps, constructing barricades, and forcibly recruiting locals along with volunteers. The Turkish state forces ended occupations in 2016 but the cost was very high. During the armed conflicts, curfews and crackdowns, hundreds of thousands of people were forced to leave their houses and thousands of houses were destroyed by both the KWP and the state forces during the conflicts and hundreds of people died including soldiers, police, KWP members, and civilians (Aras, 2020, p. 209).

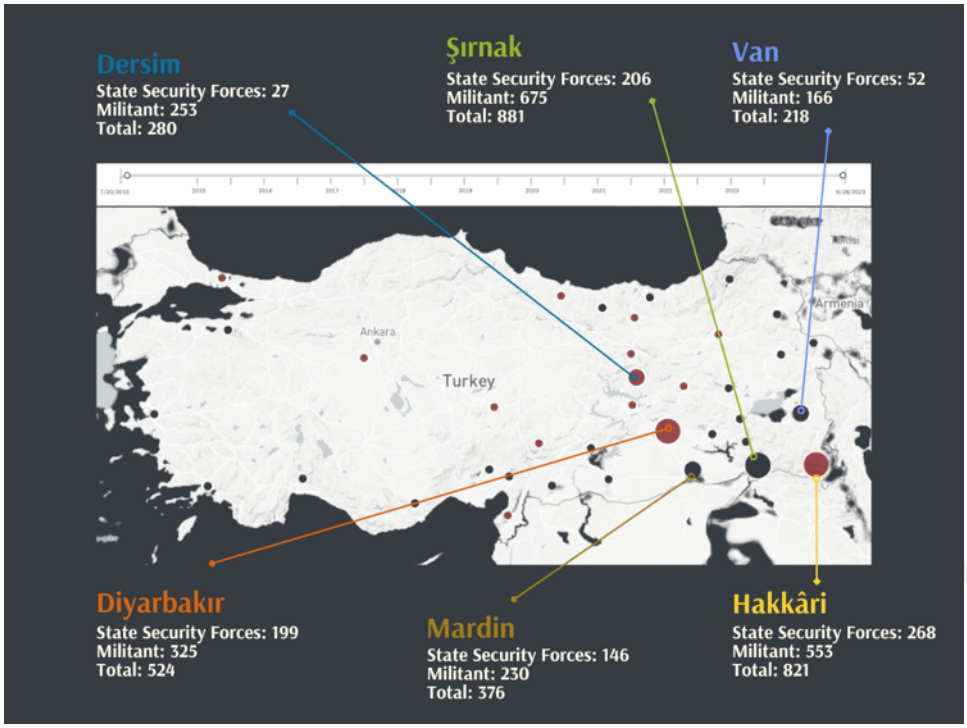


Figure 12: Destruction Map of Turkey's Southeast

The image is created by the author. Data and map is retrieved from https://www.crisisgroup.org/content/turkiyes-pkk-conflict-visual-explainer#14

Access Date: 01/08/2023

At the end of pre-proposal process, four settlements were identified for fieldwork: Sur (Diyarbakır), Cizre (Şırnak), Nusaybin (Mardin), and Yüksekova (Hakkari) (*figure-12*). These four settlements were significant because they were the places where the state's military forces started a full-scale onslaught after 2015, where civilian deaths were the highest, and where urban infrastructure was all but destroyed. For example, Nusaybin district of the Mardin line experienced one of the most severe forms of destruction. The part of the destruction that took place specifically in Nusaybin is described in Özyetiş's (2018) study as follows:

> Nusaybin is a town in Mardin province that was under curfew seven times between October 1, 2015 and July 26, 2016. Despite the most recent curfew, which was lifted

> on July 26, 2016 after 134 days, as of September 2017, there are still six neighborhoods in the city whose access is still blocked by wires. Between 6,000 and 9,000 buildings in these neighborhoods, where approximately 30,000 to 40,000 people live, have been flattened by construction equipment after the clashes and an area of approximately 1.25 km^2 has been turned into a construction site[76] (p. 36).

In fact, Cizre was the first of these settlements that I analyzed in the context of urbicide. As I mentioned above, the basement processes in Cizre constituted a turning point in my personal history. At that time, I was following the news that was occasionally broadcast live on satellite TV channels that had not yet been shut down and the news that activists, MPs, and journalists who were there were reporting live. Something was broken, never to be mended again, judging by the last cries of the individuals on live TV, the sound of the bombs being hurled at them, and the scream of the mother whose son was in the basement where the bombs were tossed. Following the Academics for Peace petition and the subsequent trial, I was able to further define my area of study. Sur, Diyarbakır was intended to be the starting point for the first of my field's four sections. The primary motivation for going with Sur was entirely practical. In the first place, I had many friends from Diyarbakır, and the connection would make my work easier in terms of logistical support. Second, the "dangerous" and potentially explosive character of the topic required that I get my feet wet in a major metropolitan area. Thirdly, I could work on such a delicate problem in a touristic city in an inconspicuous, almost disguised way, giving me more freedom to move and allowing me to design more comfortable solutions to many perilous scenarios that I had not planned or anticipated. After my first fieldwork, I aimed to finalize the data collection by integrating Yüksekova and coordinating with my contacts in Cizre and Nusaybin throughout the course of the next five months. All of my scheduled interviews until June of 2020 were canceled as a result of the pandemic. Pandemic fears and restrictions on intercity entry-exit meant that I had to put off my plans for a little longer. Following my arrest, lawsuit, and suspension, as I described in Chapter 2, I was forced to abandon this inclusive view of my field. With the data in hand, I was able to deduce how things worked in Diyarbakır Sur, and I even had extra material to add to a regional study. As

---

[76] Original text: "Nusaybin, kent merkezinde 1 Ekim 2015 ve 26 Temmuz 2016 arasında yedi defa sokağa çıkma yasağı ilan edilmiş, Mardin'e bağlı bir yer. En sonuncusu aralıksız 134 günden sonra 26 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde kalkan sokağa çıkma yasağına rağmen, kentte Eylül 2017 itibari ile hâlâ erişimi tellerle engellenmiş altı mahalle bulunuyor. Yaklaşık 30 bin ila 40 bin kişinin yaşadığı bu mahallelerdeki 6 bin ila 9 bin yapı, çatışmalar sonrası iş makinaları ile dümdüz edilmiş ve yaklaşık 1.25 km^2 alan şantiyeye çevrilmiş durumda"

a result, my research automatically narrowed. However, it would be insufficient without the other jigsaw parts of the process. The Cizre case is significant in terms of the images portrayed in the media as well as the massacres referred to as basement processes in order to illustrate the extent of the violence underlined in the research. As a result, before delving into the details of the Diyarbakır case, I wanted to mention the Cizre case here, at least on a descriptive level.

5.1.1. Cizre

As an old city, Cizre was built on the silk road, which resulted in the development of commerce and also as a place of war. It was a home from Babylon to the Persians and Ottoman Empire. In terms of our subject, its history after the 1980s plays an important role in understanding the settlements in Cizre today. It is because the destruction was mainly in the neighborhoods which were constructed after the migration at the end of the 1980s. Especially in the period between the years 1990-1995, 46 settlements in the region were evacuated, which resulted in a massive migration. Seasonal working became a continuous migration for many households, which affected the structure of the city (Karademir, 2014, p. 65).

Cizre has ten main neighborhoods, namely Alibey, Sur, Dağkapı, Konak, Kale, Şah, Cudi, Yafes, Nur, and Dicle. When the population density of it is examined, it can be seen that the density is high in the neighborhoods like Dağkapı, Alibey and Kale neighborhoods which are the old settlements in Cizre. In addition, it is also similar to Şah neighborhood which was established in the 1980s and is very close to the center. Cudi, Nur, and Dicle neighborhoods developed after the 1980s and mainly 1990s due to the migration from other Kurdish cities. The population density is also high in those settlements. Considering the location of the neighborhoods, it could be foreseeable to claim that the city will expand northwestward. Lastly, Konak and Sur neighborhoods are the least developed and low population zones in the distinct. Nur, Cudi, Sur, Yafes, and Konak neighborhoods are also settlements where urban poverty and the effects of forced migration could starkly be seen (Yıldız et al., 2010; Karademir, 2014; Gül, 2014).

In Cizre, a 24-hour curfew was declared four times in a year, 2015-16. The first one started on 4 September 2015 and ended on 12 September. The second curfew began on 13 September and lasted one day after. The third ban again was applied for two days on 14-15 November 2015. The last curfew, which was the longest one, endured 79 days without deduction, starting on 14 December 2015 and ending on 3 March 2016. Cudi, Yafes, Sur, and Nur neighborhoods were under siege in this period, which had the heaviest damage in the distinct (*figure-13*).

Cizre's urbicide is significant in more ways than one. *Appendix-3* shows that this is a significant turning point for this thesis. Around one hundred individuals were locked up and killed in the basements of three houses on Bostancı Street in the Cudi district, where they became known as the *Cizre Basements* (Bowen, 2016). Fatih Pınar's video interview named *Cizre – In the Basement of the Apartment Building Number 23* visualizes the atrocities that took place in one of the basements with the witnesses (Pınar, 2016).

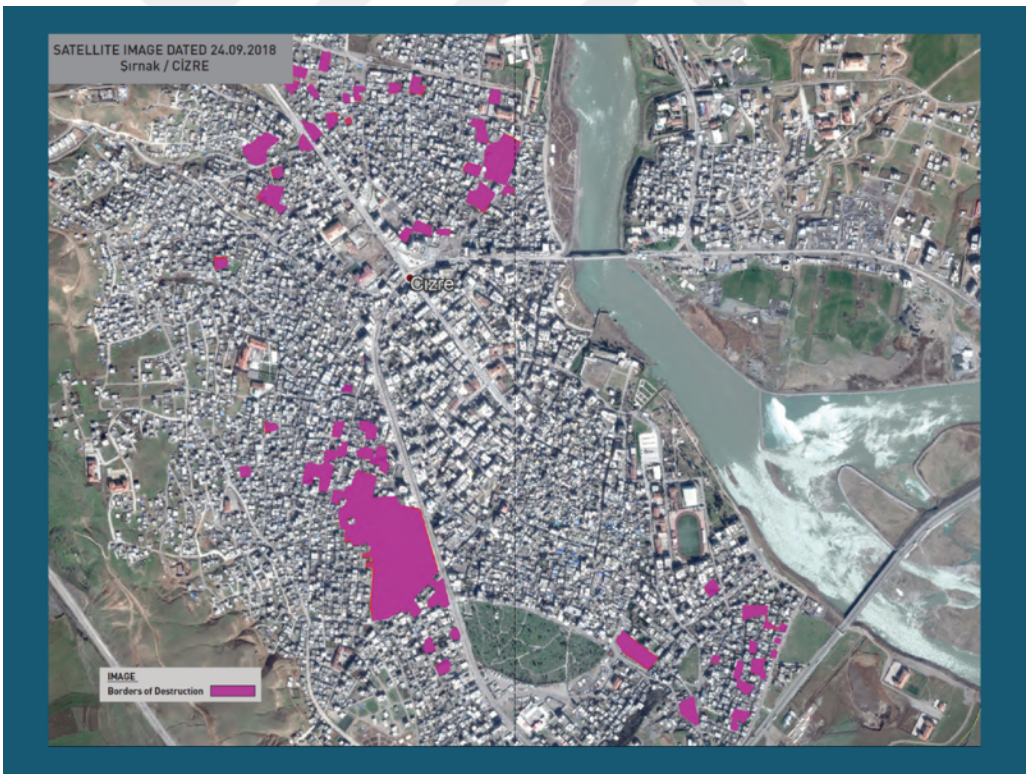


Figure 13: Destruction Map of Cizre
Source: https://www.dimod.org.tr/public/uploads/document/8ca20ae0dfc4d46698ec87f499a50b8d.pdf
Access Date: 07/07/2019

According to the *Address Based Population Registration System*, in 2015, the population of Cizre was measured as 131.816, and when the curfew started, it

decreased to 110.000. However, its population is estimated after the operation at approximately 10.000. Especially during the last curfew after its 20th day, the forced migration was accelerated. According to the *Evaluation Report of HSSEU* (Health and Social Service Employees Union) (2016), the people mostly migrated to the villages of Cizre and İdil and also Batman, Diyarbakır, Mardin, and other big cities. After the end of the curfew, it is estimated that 10.000 Cizre dwellers returned to the distinct. According to the Municipality of Cizre, a total of 1300 dwellings were damaged heavily during the operation. Especially Cudi and Nur neighborhoods, all the buildings with furniture inside the dwellings were burnt and became ruined.

From the report of USARM (Union of Southeastern Anatolia Region Municipalities), it is learned that "according to the information given by the authorities, only for Şırnak, 14 generals, 26 colonels and 15 thousand soldiers were charged for the operation. The army used heavy weapons, tank destroyers, and special forces." The same report says that 9800 buildings were damaged. Six thousand eight hundred of them were less damaged; for 1750 buildings, there was moderate damage, and 1250 of the buildings were severally damaged by the Turkish Armed Forces. Among the buildings which have registered cultural and historical significance, Ulu Cami (Mosque) has been damaged from its eastern front, and 20 of its windows were broken. Deşt Köprüsü (Bridge) was affected by the battle, especially because of heavy military vehicles. The windows of Abdaliye Medresesi (Madrasah) were broken and damaged" (USARM, 2016).

Apart from the cultural and historical buildings of a city, the homes, workshops, streets, cafes, hospitals, and places of worship, in short, the places which constitute their habitat, are what make a city a city. The destruction of those places is one of the main features of urbicide. This is also the main reason for civilian deaths, migration, and total destruction of a city. It can be taken as a higher level in the cases like Cizre.

After their visit to the city in 2015, Diyarbakır Bar Association noted that "during this time, all communication means connecting Cizre to the outside world had been cut with very few exceptions. Within the same period, all the roads to Cizre town were blocked by barricades of security forces. The armored military or police vehicles and tanks besieged all around the town. All public services, including water, electricity, garbage collection, health, education, and legal services, were interrupted altogether

during the curfew. Dwellers had been deprived of all basic life needs, such as food, medicine, milk, infant formula, etc. Especially disruptions in water, electricity, and health services like ambulances have significantly affected public health and caused deaths in some instances. During the period of curfew, in some districts (Nur, Cudi, Sur, and Yafes), security operations were performed by military tanks, police panzers, and the military with heavy weaponry. The officials had announced the aim of the operation as removing trenches and barricades and arresting some armed suspects" (Diyarbakır Bar Association Report, 2015).

The subsequent sub-section of this scholarly exposition is dedicated to a meticulous examination of the case of Sur, situated within the city of Diyarbakır, where remarkably congruent narratives of violence have found their locus. This geographical locale, serving as the focal point of the field research endeavors, will be subjected to an exhaustive analysis in the forthcoming section. Herein, an intricate exploration of Sur's historical, cultural, economic, and social attributes shall be undertaken with a view to affording a comprehensive and granular understanding of this complex and multifaceted urban setting.

5.1.2. Diyarbakır

> *Diyarbakır is a riddle... From Amida to Amid to Kara Amid; from Diyarbekr to Diyarbakır, it is a riddle with many answers, and perhaps that is why it is unsolvable... [... The black stone walls made historians and travelers shudder and caused the adjective "Black" to be attached to its name, the gates, each of which is the name of a district, the Dicle that gives life to the places it passes through, the roadways that connect countries and civilizations, [...] Clues to Diyarbakır's riddle that is not easy to solve, perhaps a key for solution attempts...*[77]
>
> *Beysanoğlu, Koz & İşli, 1999, p. 7*

Located in a hollow on the huge basalt plateau spanning the area from the volcanic surface of the now-extinct Karacadağ to the Tigris River, Diyarbakır (*figure-14*) (40°

[77] Original text: "Diyarbakır bir bilmece… Amida'dan Amid'e, Kara Amid'e; Diyarbekr'den Diyarbakır'a uzanan çizgide çok cevaplı, belki de bu yüzden çözümsüz bir bilmece… […] Tarihçileri, gezginleri ürperten ve adına "Kara" sıfatının takılmasına sebep olan kara taştan surları, her biri bir semte ad olan kapıları, geçtiği yerlere hayat bahşeden Diclesi, ülkeleri ve uygarlıkları birbirine bağlayan yolları, […] Diyarbakır'ın çözümlenmesi kolay olmayan bilmecesinin ipuçları, belki çözüm denemeleri için birer anahtar…"

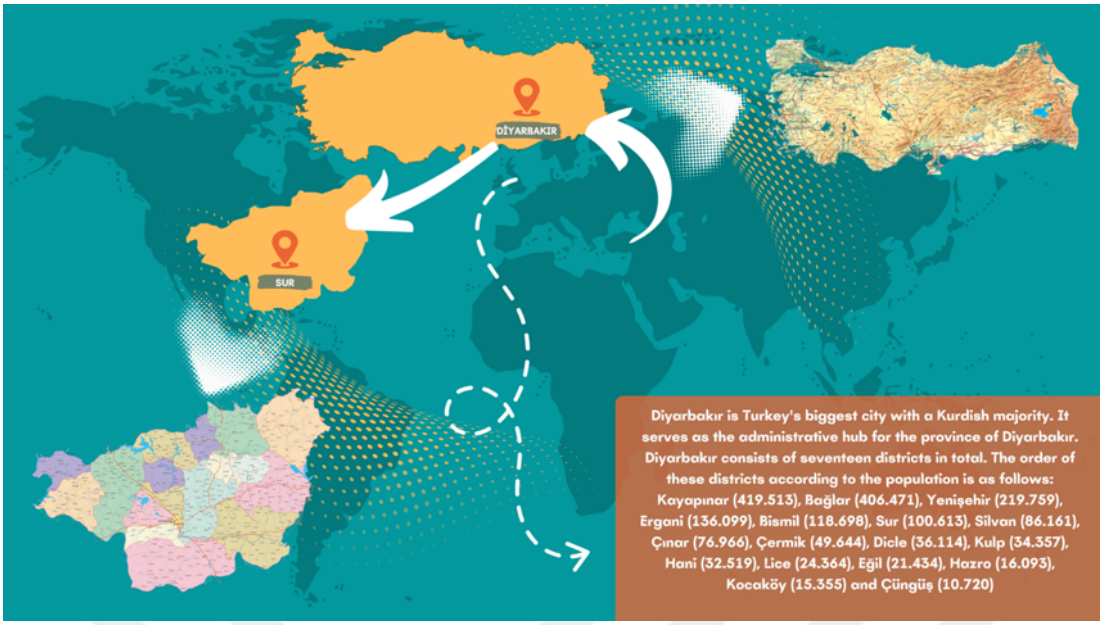


Figure 14: Diyarbakır/Sur
Source: Author's own Archive

20' - 37° 50') is one of the most urban centers in the Southeastern Anatolia region within the borders of the Republic of Turkey (Arslan, 1999, p. 81). The Taurus Mountains lie to the north, the Karacadağ to the west, and the Mardin hills to the south. With urbanization and migration, the city is expanding in the west, north and south directions.

Sur district is one of the most ancient and central settlements of Diyarbakır. Sur, which resembles a turbot from a bird's eye view, takes its name from the remains of the city walls and fortifications surrounding the "fish." The history of the city dates back to 7000 years ago (Karaaslan, 2018; Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2011; Parla, 2005; Parla, 2012). As can be seen in *figure-15*, the first settlements emerged in the inner fortress area corresponding to the eye of the "fish" and later expanded to include water resources and took its final form. Clearer information about the history of the city was obtained during the Roman period (Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2011). In Canan Parla's article, "Before 359, it is understood that this city, which was called 'Amida,' was very small and that Constantine named the city he surrounded it with strong walls and towers and built another walled city called Antoninupolis outside the city so that his neighbors could take refuge." (2005, p. 59).

Sur has not lost its cosmopolitan character throughout history and has an important historical value with monumental spaces and buildings left by different ethnic and

religious groups (Işık & Halifeoğlu, 2017; Sami, 2017; Yıldırım, 2012). According to the data of the Center for Truth, Justice and Memory (*figure-16*) (2016), "a total of 595 registered buildings, 147 monumental and 448 civil architecture examples, were identified in Suriçi." These monumental values manifest themselves as structures that immortalize the past in social memory (Chang & Huang, 2005; Kolb, 2020). Precisely because of these characteristics, they are singular spatial representations of collective identity negotiated through the discourse between the physical landscape and culture (Kolb, 2020, p. 11). Sur is an old and rich urban settlement in terms of social constructions that mediate memory and experience.

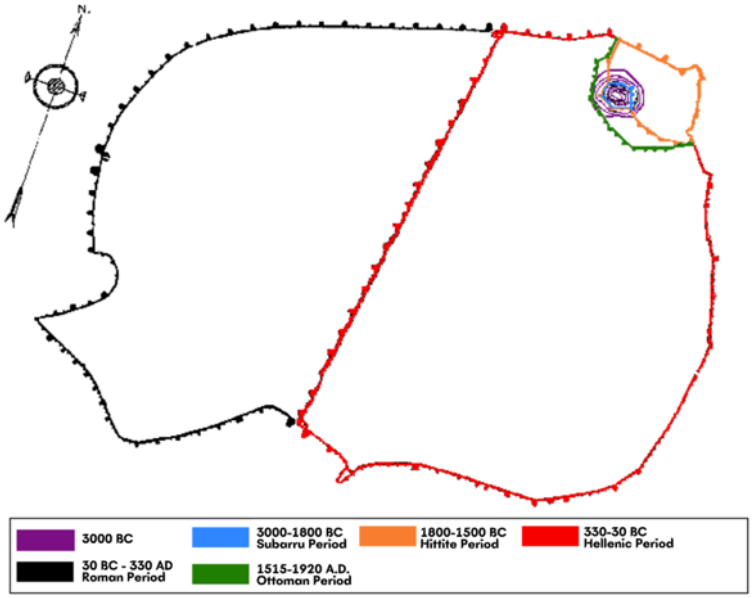


Figure 15: Map of Sur in Historical Context
Source: Kejanlı and Dinçer, 2011

Before discussing the debris and dust in Sur, the topographical description and historical transformation of Sur will be touched upon. The period of conflict between the State of the Republic of Turkey and the KWP began at the time of the movement's establishment and has continued almost uninterruptedly. The conflict has waxed and waned intermittently since 2010, and a peace process has finally emerged but it did not last long. After the 2015 general elections, the peace process came to an end, and a period of conflict resumed. As in other Kurdish settlements, Sur, in the center of Diyarbakır, has been one of the areas of security operations and armed clashes. During the "ditch warfare" period, Sur was one of the theatres of war, which resulted in a significant number of deaths. The urban fabric was substantially reduced to rubble as a result of the clashes. The first curfew in Sur was declared on September 16, 2015,

THE SCALE OF DESTRUCTION*

DİYARBAKIR SUR

	Totally Destroyed	Not Destroyed	Percentage of areal demolition of the neighborhood	Percentage of structural demolition of the neighborhood
Cemalyılmaz Neighborhood	300	143	48	68
Cevatpaşa Neighborhood	255	445	22	36
Dabanoğlu Neighborhood	247	385	37	39
Fatihpaşa Neighborhood	1026	93	93	92
Hasırlı Neighborhood	1534	46	95	97
Savaş Neighborhood	207	304	44	40

*This comparison chart is designed according to the data given in UCTEA's Diyarbakır Provincial Coordination Board 2015-2017 Sur Report

Figure 16: Destruction of Built-Environment in Sur
Source: Author's own Archive

and continuous day-long curfews began on December 11 (Sur Kaymakamlığı, 2015) in "six of the district's 15 neighborhoods, an area with a combined population of approximately 24,000 residents" (Amnesty International, 2016, p. 8). According to International Crisis data (2016), at least 1,809,000 city dwellers have been affected by the curfews, and around 1,700 people have lost their lives as a result of the war. Of these, 307 were civilians, 582 were soldiers and guards belonging to state forces, and 653 were KWP militants. 219 bodies could not be identified. According to the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality's *Suriçi Post-Clashes Cultural Heritage Damage Assessment Report* published on June 9, 2016, 74 civilians were killed in the one year between September 2015, when the first curfew began, and 2016. According to the data shared above by the *Memory and Justice Center* (2016), out of 595 registered buildings, 33 civil architectural examples and 50 buildings of environmental value were completely demolished, while nearly 100 buildings were partially damaged. In this sense, in the post-2015 period, Sur has been transformed in a way that fits the definition of urbicide, and the city memory, social memory, and the idea and desire to become a community through it have been destroyed.

Figure 17: Satellite Image of Sur on 10 May 2016
Source: Google Earth

On March 21, 2016, following the curfews that lasted until March 9, 2016, the Council of Ministers issued a "urgent expropriation decision" in Sur. With this decision, which was on the agenda with the Toledo[78] debate, the new master plan in Sur was introduced, and the construction of new buildings started after the Council of Ministers' decision was published in the *Official Gazette* (T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2016). In March 2021, Sur District Governor Abdullah Çiftçi told Demirören News Agency that 506 new houses, 147 workplaces, and 9 hotels had been built and that the restoration of 18 historical buildings was being carried out by the Regional Directorate of Foundations. With the end of the exclusion order in 2020, a significant amount of visual material on the region has been made available to the public by print and broadcast media. For example, the new development promoted as "Diyarbakır Houses" resembles a bird's-eye view of prison due to the uniform architecture of the buildings and the positioning of the courtyards (Altay, 2021). In this sense, the restoration works in the historic Suriçi district show that transformations in the urban

[78] On February 1, 2016, then Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu announced the state's plans for Sur after the clashes, saying, "We will build Diyarbakır Sur in such a way that it will become a place that everyone wants to see with its architectural texture, just like Toledo (Spain)" (BİA Haber Merkezi-Riyad, 2016).

fabric have a symbolic meaning as well as a physical process. As Chang and Huang emphasize in their study on creative destruction in Singapore, "material transformations in the form of demolition and reconstruction are often accompanied by the image and identity of those spaces, as well as the individual and collective memories associated with those spaces" (2005, p. 267). A striking example of the intersection of individual and collective memory can be seen in the interview given to Amnesty International by a former resident of Suriçi, a master builder: "The curfew is still in effect. Neighbors said the house was destroyed. I can't believe that the basalt stone walls were demolished. They are 200 or 300 years old. I thought no power could destroy these walls" (2016).

Satellite images of Sur clearly show the damage and destruction to the monuments and the overall fabric of the city. In the satellite image of May 10, 2016 (*figure-18*), which is also included in the 2015-2016 Destroyed Cities Report prepared by the Union of

Figure 18: Satellite Image of Sur on 26 July 2016
Source: Google Earth

Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (UCTEA) Diyarbakır Provincial Coordination Board, it can be seen that approximately two months after the war ended on March 9, 2016, significant balding has occurred in the Hasırlı, Savaş and Fatihpaşa neighborhoods. Apart from balding (*figure-19*), the remaining buildings (including

Figure 19: View of Sur from the Airplane on 16 September 2019
Source: Author's own Archive

monumental structures) have also been largely destroyed, and most of them have become unusable. In the video clip "*Sat5 -Alone, My Father, Yalnızım Atam* (*IN MEMORY OF OUR SUR MARTYRS*)," released by Sat5 Production on April 26, 2016, when curfews were still in effect, satellite imagery shows that there is also evidence of major debris removal in areas where there is no balding (Sat5 Production, 2016).

The clip also reveals the extent of the destruction of the Kurşunlu Mosque in Fatihpaşa. For example, in *figure-20,* the images taken from the clip show that although the load-bearing columns and some of the facades of the buildings are still standing, they have been severely damaged.

These different modes of demolition will be discussed in more detail in the following pages. For now, these forms of destruction are included here to help us visually understand Suriçi after 2015. In the next section, I will engage with the details of these

modes and argue that the widespread violence in Diyarbakır in the post-2015 period is an urbicide.

Figure 20: Images taken from the Clip (Sat5 Production)
Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1k_CQb5X8-4

Access Date: 02/08/2023

5.2. Urbicide in Sur

After laying out the theoretical foundations for the idea of urbicide in the preceding chapter, I will now analyze how this concept manifests in practice in the Sur district of Diyarbakır province. After a descriptive introduction about the region, Diyarbakır, Sur and the Kurdish Question in general, I will discuss the war in Sur after 2015, the arrhythmia and debris created by the war, and the necropolitical perspective that accompanies all this destruction through the outputs of my fieldwork in 2019.

Before going into the details of the analysis, it is useful to go through the code browser and see the relationships between the codes (*figure-21*). In Chapter 2, we discussed the stages of the coding procedure. In this section, we will present the code schema obtained by the aforementioned methods. The precoding stage, which Boyatzis (1998)

	Parent code	Code	Cod. seg. (all ...
	Rubble and De...	The Social Destruction of Sur	3
	The Social Des...	The Coordinates of Destruction	0
	The Destructio...	The Destruction of Monuments	29
	Rhythm and S...	The Ruptures in Everyday Life	4
	The Ruptures i...	The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers	29
	The Use of He...	The Technology of Death Used in Sur	1
	Funeral and M...	Encountering with Corpse	4
	Encountering ...	Dealing with Dead Bodies	55
	The Coordinat...	Underground	9
	The Scenery o...	Houses	36
	The Technolog...	Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks	32
	War Description	Gendered War	41
	Weapon and P...	Ditches	23
	The Social Des...	The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur	32
	Rhythm and S...	The Destruction of Collective Memory	74
	The Ruptures i...	Cannonry as Background Music	33
	Funeral and M...	Cemeteries and Memorials	21
	Encountering ...	Autopsy	7
	The Technolog...	X-rays, Criminal Record Check	12
	The Coordinat...	Land	5
	The Scenery o...	Streets	24
	Weapon and P...	The State of Emergency and Exception	51
	The Technolog...	Drones and air vehicle	5
	The Coordinat...	Sky	10
	The Scenery o...	Infrastructure	29
	Weapon and P...	Misery in the Times of War	70
	Weapon and P...	Civilian and Militant	39
	Weapon and P...	Comparison with the 90s	26
	Weapon and P...	Peace Process	27
	Weapon and P...	War Description	36
	Weapon and P...	The Use of Heavy Weaponry	43
	Weapon and P...	The Extent of Violence against Civilian Life	8

Figure 21: Code Browser
Source: MaxQDA

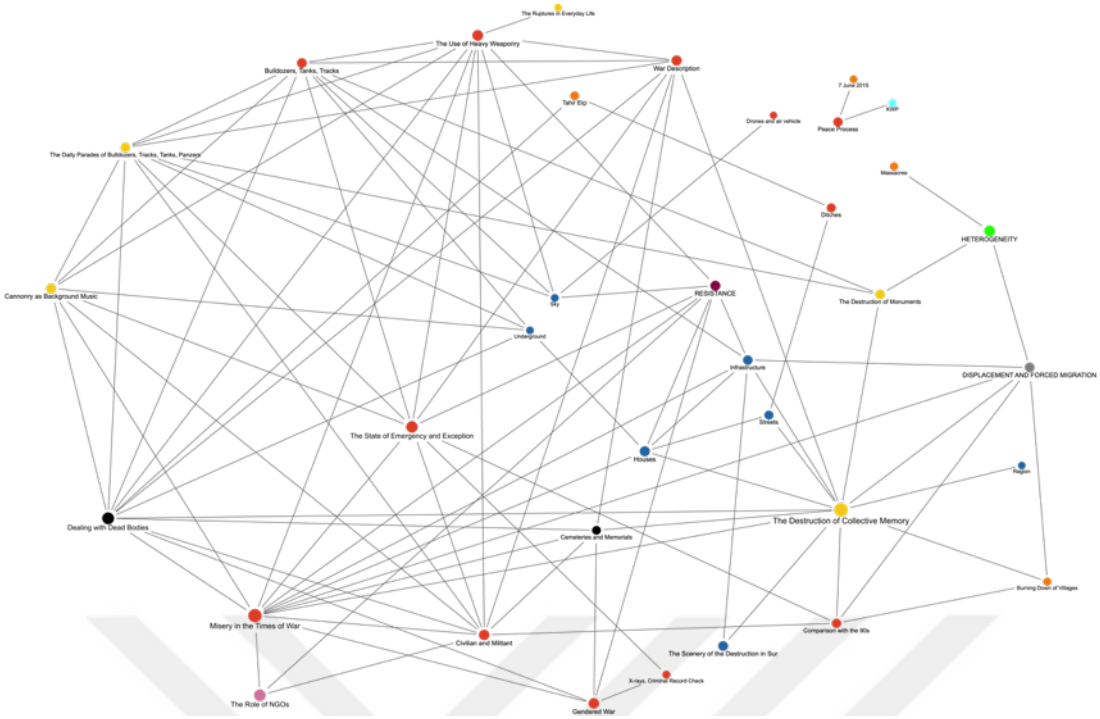


Figure 22: Code Map
Source: MaxQDA

calls codable moments, consists of highlighting important points in the transcription process and the notes kept in the field notebook during the interviews and circled as important. In the code system, this is labeled as "IMP (Red)." These codes consist of quotations summarizing the process in general, which can also be described as *in-vivo*. In the initial coding phase, the field equivalents of the four pillars of the thesis were coded: For the Spatial dimension: Rubble and Death; Time dimension: Rhythm and Syncope; War dimension: Weapon and Politics; and for the Necropolitics dimension: Funeral and Murder. In the second cycle coding phase, sub-codes of these four basic codes were created using conceptual background and categories. Axial coding was used, especially in field interviews that required descriptive explanations. For example, descriptions of war, and the role of NGOs are examples of axial coding.

The relationships between codes are important in terms of showing how the four aspects of urbicide are combined in the concept of urbicide (*figure-22*). When we look at the code cloud (*figure-23*), *The Destruction of Collective Memory* was the most coded in all documents. This is in line with my predictions at the beginning of the research. This output supports the claim that war and destruction are ruptures and, in this sense, create syncope. After *The Destruction of Collective Memory*, the most coded ones were *Misery in Times of War* and *Dealing with Dead Bodies*. The

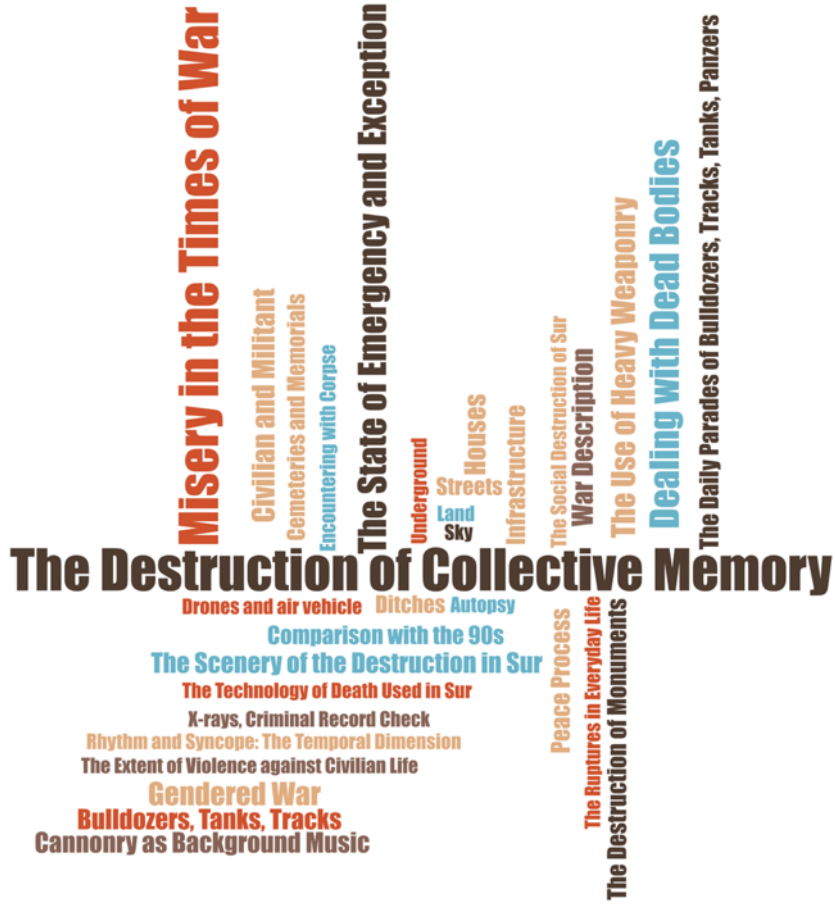


Figure 23: Code Cloud
Source: MaxQDA

intersections of the codes and their corresponding frequencies may be seen in the code map and frequency tables[79]. These tables and images include Funeral and Murder: *The Necropolitical Dimension, The Social Destruction of Sur, The Coordinates of Destruction, Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War* and *National Security Council (NSC)* codes are not taken into account. Because the aforementioned codes other than *NSC* were evaluated through their sub-codes. *NSC* was excluded from the visual due to its low frequency. Finally, a word cloud was created from the most repeated words in the coded segments. This word cloud serves as a critical key to rethink the concept sets and their inter-code relationships that stand out in the analysis, and helps us to understand the psycho-social dimension of war and destruction, which is a very important topic of discussion beyond the scope of this study. When code map and bub loud are superimposed, the impact of destruction on children and family

[79] See Appendix-8: *Code Relationality*.

structure, which cloud points to differently from code map but which is beyond the scope of this study, stand out as important research questions waiting to be answered.

5.2.1. Rubble and Death: The Spatial Dimension

The spatial dimension of the war in Diyarbakır Sur will be discussed through the transformation of space into rubble. Gastón R. Gordillo's work, *Rubble: The Afterlife of Destruction* (2014). The title refers to an oxymoron in a sense: The use of destruction together with life to describe rubble. As traces of the destruction of the past, ruin is treated as a form of life. Referring to Benjamin, Gordillo mentions that life is not a mode that belongs only to organic corporeality. Life actually applies to everything that is historical. This approach, which winks at an object-oriented analysis, is expressed in Benjamin's assertion as follows:

> The concept of life is given its due only if everything that has a history of its own, and is not merely the setting for history, is credited with life. In the final analysis, the range of life must be determined by history rather than by nature, least of all by such tenuous factors as sensation and soul. The philosopher's task consists in comprehending all of natural life through the more encompassing life of' history. (1968, p. 71)

Gordillo's (2014) emphasis on the spatiality and ethnographic aspect of rubble is also important for this thesis. For, rubble is too multifaceted to be interpreted with a negative connotation alone. Gordillo puts it this way:

> Rubble, however, is not simply a figure of negativity. Rubble exerts positive pressure on human practice and is constitutive of the spatiality of living places. But this is a presence defined by constellations that are more often than not disregarded in mainstream sensibilities. For this reason, their examination demands an ethnographic archaeology oriented toward identifying and interconnecting on the ground the traces of places that have been destroyed (2014, p. 11).

The ambivalence of the relationship with Rubble is poetically addressed by Tsing in the framework of a chaotic circulation. Focusing on how globalization transforms locality, local and locus, Tsing sheds light on the colonization of space through ruination, naming and renaming.

> Here is a truly cosmopolitan scene, where varied dreams are jumbled together, naming and renaming creeks, valleys, routes, and towns. The dreamers jostle, fight bitterly, and patronize each other. As they make their own new places, these too are knocked away. Old residents become aliens as the familiar landscape is transformed

> by trauma, danger, and the anxiety of the unknown. Here mystery can flourish, and unexpected discoveries can be made. Unimagined riches can be found because the layout of wealth and poverty is unsettled, unimagined. Impossible promises cannot be ignored. On this landscape, the economy of appearances seems so real that it must be true. When the spectacle passes on, *what is left is rubble and mud*[80], the residues of success and failure. People with other stakes and stories will have to pick up the pieces (Tsing, 2005, p. 74).

In the endeavor to imbue significance into the urban landscape of Suriçi, characterized by the remnants of devastation and the amalgamation of debris and sediment, it becomes incumbent upon us to embrace a theoretical perspective that is rooted in a spatialized, object-oriented reconceptualization of the dialectical framework. As aptly articulated by Gordillo, this transformative approach is encapsulated in the notion of "becoming through rupture" (2014, p. 26). In essence, it necessitates a profound reconfiguration of traditional dialectical paradigms, one that foregrounds the spatial dimension and the role of objects within the intricate tapestry of urban discourse.

5.2.1.1. The Social Destruction of Sur

As the title suggests, the focus will be on the socio-spatial dimension of the destruction in Sur, in a nod to Lefebvre's conceptualization of the production of space. The spatial triad will also be considered as critical conceptual keys to making sense of the destruction of space. Henri Lefebvre explains this spatial theory based on the triad, which I elaborated on in Chapter 4, as follows: The categorical treatment of space at the social level requires a conceptual transcendence of the classical Geometric (Euclidean) understanding of space. Lived space is precisely an understanding of space that inverts this design through experience and is shaped by users. Lefebvre argues that without ignoring the physical modes of space, it is necessary to consider it within the relationality of conception, design, and experience. In geometric space, the notion of place is not contained within a semantic framework. It is an understanding of space that is not different from each other in terms of the space they occupy in space, determined by coordinates. In this sense, it is similar to the Newtonian understanding of time that we discussed earlier. Here destruction and debris correspond to the physical dimension of space. With the design and organization of this coordinate

[80] Italics are mine.

system, we begin to give meaning to space, and in this sense, the destruction of space is also something that is designed and organized. In this sense, since design is inherently a top-down process, the organization of the destruction of space shows that it is used as a tool in power relations. One of these tools is sometimes the rubble itself. For example, what the participants said about the demolition in Sur points to an important point about how demolition is designed.

> Miro: And the thing was bad, all the rubble was dumped at the Faculty of Education of Dicle University. They made a mountain, *a mountain of rubble*!
>
> Roj: They made it out of rubble. Yes, a mountain.
>
> Miro: They stepped on it. And this disturbed the people at the university. It made them uneasy[81].
>
> Code: ● IMP > RED
>
> Interview with Miro, Roj, Picasso
> Other codes assigned to segment: Funeral and Murder: The Necropolitical Dimension > Cemeteries and Memorials; Funeral and Murder: The Necropolitical Dimension > Encountering with Corpse

Rising on the shore of Dicle University is not only an indicator of destruction but also a conceptual tool for this thesis, which points to an ontological connection between power and space. The results of the fieldwork on how destruction is experienced, or rather the destruction experienced, will be presented in the following chapters *The Coordinates of Destruction* and *The Scenery of Destruction in Sur*.

5.2.1.1. The Coordinates of Destruction

In this section, I will focus on the vectorial dimensions of destruction and discuss how the subterranean, the Earth, and the sky have become battlefields and how war, in this sense, is actually a disoriented construct. In contrast to this perspective, which corresponds to both mythological connotations and a hierarchical relationship, I will present the nonhierarchic and resistance-oriented approach that war and destruction create with examples from the field. Certain symbols will be used in the accounts of eyewitnesses to convey the land, sea, sky, and subterranean dimensions of warfare in the context of Diyarbakır Sur. In this process, the subterranean dimension, which resembles a kind of archaeological research, will consider the basements, a feature of

---

[81] Original text: "Miro: Ve şey kötüydü yıkılan molozların hepsi Dicle Üniversitesi'nin Eğitim fakültesinin oraya döküldü. Bir dağ yaptılar, molozlardan bir dağ!
Roj: Molozlardan yaptılar. Evet bir dağ.
Miro: Bastırarak üzerine çıktılar. Bu da üniversitedeki insanları rahatsız etti. Tedirgin etti."

the historical houses of Sur, as underground space. The basements, used especially by Assyrian families for wine production and preservation, were the places where civilians survived during the war by staying underground and hiding from optical technology. Horizontal dimension, on the other hand, refers to a micro-tactical agency that Eyal Weizman points to in Hollow Lands, used as "inverse geometry" by an army official during the Israeli attack on Nablus in 2002 (2007, p. 185). The niches in traditional Diyarbakir houses, which were used as cupboards, formed small tunnels in which the borders that separated private properties were somewhat subverted. This situation, which resembles a mole's endeavor, will be discussed together with alcoves. The upward moves of the vertical dimension will be discussed through the handcrafted horizontal barriers made to protect against air raids.

5.2.1.1.1. Plays from Underground: Basements

For a long time, cellars and basements have been read as caves, as a reference to the archaic life of modern man, as a place of the lower part of society, disease, and poverty, and as a political and cultural threat. From a vertical perspective, basements, which signify the negative, the absent, and what is outside the norm, have maintained this destructive aspect in the context of Sur. The discourses about the underground were narratives of misery, desperation, and entrapment. Şirin, one of the participants, took me by the hand and led me to the courtyard to show me the basement of their house (*figure-24*), which is still in the traditional Sur architecture that has not yet been demolished. After lifting a hatch that opened towards the ground in the courtyard, she looked into the small dark space beneath the hatch and said:

> Look, this is it. People hid here! All the family, all here. Isn't it a pity? You can't come out, they'll shoot you. People had to hide in the basements. For days! It's like the whole house collapsed on you. How can anyone live here[82]?
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Underground
> Interview with Şirin
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Houses

It has become a safe haven for those in Sur who are reluctant to leave their houses for fear of being attacked to take refuge in this secluded, shady spot. For Lefebvre's

[82] Original text: "Bak, işte burası. Burada saklandı insanlar! Çoluk çocuk, hepsi burada. Yazık değil mi? Çıksan çıkamazsın, vururlar. Mecburen bodrumlarda saklandı insanlar. Günlerce! Bütün ev üstüne yıkılmış gibi. İnsan nasıl yaşar burda!"

approach, life has given these spaces a different meaning beyond their intended use and design purpose: From wine cellar and storage to a vital space. Mezra and her children, who hid in the basement for nearly 70 days, had adapted so well to the isolation that when they emerged from the rubble, their eyes had difficulty adjusting to the new city life. Mezra shared her testimonies as follows:

> It was always dark. We got used to it. I could guess where everything was. After a while, I don't need to see it. You can just reach it. It's a small basement, anyway. It's the size of a person, but it's still small. When I came out, I couldn't open my eyes. I couldn't see for a while. When I came out, I couldn't look. I was dazzled. I could hardly see. The pain in my eyes continued for a while, and I couldn't see[83].
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Underground
>
> Interview with Mezra

Figure 24: The Basements
Source: Author's own archive

In fact, by developing a kind of de Certeauian survival tics, they had to adapt to the current situation and carve out a space for themselves in the sphere of power, independent of the surrounding ground. A place in a structural form, with defined boundaries and designed for a purpose, was transformed by the users to become a survival space. Although Lefebvre refrains from using the distinction between place and space, the rupture moment here brings space and place into focus. In other words, the rhythmic rupture becomes a fracturing point in terms of place and space.

These underground spaces, which are freed from the field of vision and dominance of the disciplinary gaze through a tactical performance of transformation by the users, are

[83] Original text: "Karanlıktı hep. Alışmıştık. Her şeyin yerini tahmini biliyordum. Bir zaman sonra görmeme gerek yok. Hemen elin gidiyor. Zaten küçücük bir yer bodrum. Bir insan boyu var ama yine de küçük. Çıkınca gözümü açamadım. Göremedim bir süre. Dışarı çıkınca bakamıyordum. Gözlerim kamaştı. Zor gördüm. Bir süre devam etti gözlerimdeki ağrı ve görmeme."

also an act of undermining power. That is to say, the narratives of women who had to hide in basements, especially with their children, also mentioned the transformation of these spaces into playgrounds. In order for children to be less affected by this traumatic situation, women have turned the basements into playgrounds.

> Imagine being in ruin, dust everywhere. As bombs were dropped, even if they didn't hit us, rubble would fall on us. Sometimes we couldn't breathe. I taught the kids. Here, when there was a lot of dust, we had a breath-holding contest. I would throw some water to settle the dust. It was so painful[84]!
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Underground
>
> Interview with Mezra

Mezra elucidates that they transmuted their experiences within the debris-laden milieu into a ludic endeavor:

> With every explosion, stones from the building would fall on us. I was pretending to take a bath so that the children wouldn't be scared. The children were laughing[85].
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Underground
>
> Interview with Mezra
> Other codes assigned to segment: RESISTANCE

In this regard, it is evident that basements have evolved into spaces imbued with a profound sense of belonging, effectively transforming into a semblance of "home." Drawing from a Heideggerian perspective (2001), which posits that the concept of home holds ontological significance within the human experience, we discern that the act of dwelling in this context transcends mere fulfillment of biopsychosocial requirements (Tuan, 1977, p. 102). This dwelling process assumes a heightened existential dimension, encapsulating a profound sense of meaning and identity. Dicle, one of the participants, articulates this nuanced situation in the following manner:

> We hid in the basement during the war. It's as high as a house. We used to sweep it every day. After all, there are children with you, you have to be clean. We immediately organized it like a house. If you see it, we made it just like a house[86].
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Underground

---

[84] Original text: "Düşünün bir yıkıntının içinde, her yer toz duman. Bomba atıldıkça, bize gelmese bile, üstümüze molozlar düşüyordu. Bazen nefessiz kalıyorduk. Çocuklara öğretmiştim. İşte çok toz olunca nefes tutma yarışması yapıyorduk. Ben o zaman toz durulsun diye biraz su atıyordum. Çok acı!"

[85] Original text: "Her patlamada üzerimize binanın taşları dökülüyordu. Ben de çocuklar korkmasın diye banyo yapıyormuşum gibi hareketler yapıyordum. Çocuklar da gülüyordu işte."

[86] Original text: "Biz savaş zamanı bodrumda saklandık. Ev kadar yüksekliği var. Her gün silip süpürüyorduk. Sonuçta yanında çocuklar var, temiz olmak zorundasın. Hemen ev gibi düzenliyorduk orayı. Görsen aynı ev gibi yaptık."

Interview with Dicle
Other codes assigned to segment: The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Houses

Dicle, akin to Mezra, expounds upon the transformation of subterranean domiciles into playgrounds for children.

> What are you going to do with five children? The first days were difficult, but then we turned it into a game. [...] I say bombs are exploding, they are exploding torpedoes. As a game, we counted the bombs: gunshots, small torpedoes; sounds from tanks, big torpedoes. When the children heard the bomb sounds, they clapped and shouted out the number of bombs[87].
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Underground
> Interview with Dicle
> Other codes assigned to segment: RESISTANCE

I will engage in an examination of the manner in which residential walls, akin to basements, undergo a metamorphosis into arenas of tactical practices.

5.2.1.1.2. Mole Paths of War: Alcoves

The streets, avenues, and courtyards that define the coordinates of movement within the city preclude a Schmittian *partisan maneuver*. Instead, in Sur, the parties created *interior pathways*, disappearing into the urban fabric without getting caught in the panoptic gaze. In this sense, this maneuver, which Weizman understands in a dialectic way, "turned inside to outside and private domains to thoroughfares" "[m]oving through domestic interiors" (2007, p. 186).

The photographs in the *figure-25* shows a niche in a house in Sur where they put away their furnishings such as quilts and pillows. In one of the houses I interviewed, while we were talking about what they did when their stocks ran out during the war, the woman participant got up and started unloading. She showed me an area that was now covered with plaster and wall paint (*figure-25*). As I was taking photographs, she started to explain:

> This is how we passed through the walls. The last time we left, the houses were full of holes like this. Most of the houses were already destroyed. It wasn't very difficult to break down the wall. Sometimes we took something to eat from the other house.

---

[87] Original text: "Beş çocukla ne yapacaksın? İlk günler zordu ama sonrasında oyuna çevirdik. [...] Bomba patlıyor, torpil patlatıyorlar diyorum. Oyun olarak bombaları saydık. Silah sesleri, küçük torpil; tanklardan gelen sesler, büyük torpil. Çocuklar bomba seslerini duyunca alkışlayıp kaçıncı bomba olduğunu bağırarak söylüyordu."

> I didn't see if the soldiers were using it, but if we were using it, they were using it too[88].
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Land
>
> Interview with Dicle
> Other codes assigned to segment: RESISTANCE

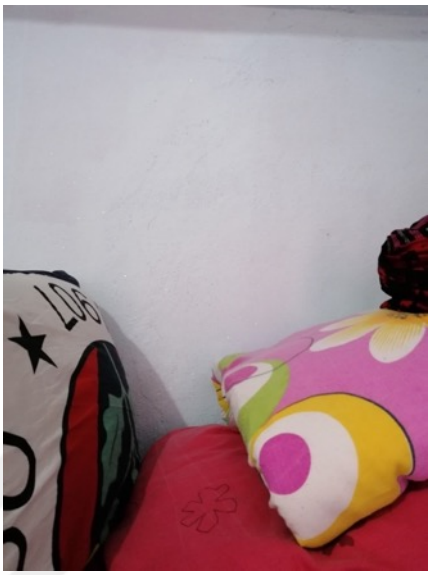


Figure 25: Covered Niches in the House
Source: Author's own archive

The act of traversing through walls represents, in essence, a multifaceted three-dimensional engagement with the urban configuration. The orifice created between two proximate spaces, each bearing distinct social recollections and invoking disparate emotive responses among their occupants, serves as a tangible catalyst for spatial discontinuity and augments the divergence inherent within the urban encounter. As aptly articulated by Weizman,

> This three-dimensional movement through walls, ceilings and floors through the bulk of the city reinterpreted, short-circuited and recomposed both architectural and urban syntax. The tactics of 'walking through walls' involved a conception of the city as not just the site, but as the very medium of warfare - a flexible, almost liquid matter that is forever contingent and in flux (2007, p. 186).

The participant articulated this circumstance, as encapsulated in the epigraph that serves as the eponymous motif for the title, in the ensuing manner:

> When we went home to get our things, we found the house riddled with holes. It was as if roads had been dug up like moles[89].
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Land

---

[88] Original text: "Duvarlardan böyle geçtik. En son biz çıkarken evler böyle delik deşikti. Zaten evlerin çoğu yıkılmıştı. Duvarı yıkmak çok zor değildi. Bazen diğer evden yiyecek bir şey aldık. Askerler de kullanıyordur tabii, görmedim ama biz kullanıyorsak onlar da kullanıyordur."

[89] Original text: "Eşyaları almak için eve gittiğimizde evi delik deşik gördük. Köstebek gibi yollar açılmış sanki."

Interview with Umut
Other codes assigned to segment: RESISTANCE

The intrusion of war into the private sphere is a traumatic and humiliating practice in itself. However, the heroic narrative constructed through masculinity also comes to the fore with this kind of invasion of space. Masculinity, reinforced through militarist action, enters the sphere of the everyday and the private through heroic narratives. In a sense, the publicized private space also creates a hierarchical plane with the narrative of superiority it establishes against the space opened horizontally by the tunnels.

Subsequent to the examination of this horizontal axis, the analytical focus shall pivot once more to the vertical dimension. In the ensuing section, meticulous scrutiny will be afforded to the manner in which even the celestial expanse has evolved into a theater of conflict.

5.2.1.1.3. Hand-made Air Shields: Fabric Roofs

In this sub-section, following Paglen's (2014) suggestion, I will add a vertical axis to the horizontal axis of geographical thinking, ascending to the sky, in order to understand how war spreads in the urban landscape. Stephen Graham discusses the transformative effects of the verticality of modern cities on a vertical axis, from satellites to bunkers. According to him, modern urban landscapes have also developed on a vertical axis, on the scale of surveillance, governmentality, and urban planning. In his work *Verticality*, he specifically pays attention to satellites which are taken as essential instruments for urban governmentality and surveillance. In that sense, this optic technology allows authorities to control the masses with respect to transformation, infrastructure, and urban traffic. He also delves into the effects of the telecommunications industry and the digital revolution on the upward expansion of urban areas. In this section, I will address the vertical dimension of the war. From skyscrapers to ditches, this perspective will reveal the multidimensionality of war.

In Sur, Diyarbakır, I will discuss the sky state of the war, the use of aerial surveillance, and the method of shielding used by residents to escape this surveillance. In many interviews, participants mentioned that during wartime, bombing also targeted civilians and that people had to build a barrier between themselves and the sky to

Figure 26: A Fabric Roof in the Courtyard
Source: Author's own archive

protect themselves from this. This method of shielding was also present in the home of one family I interviewed. In 2019, when the fieldwork took place, I also witnessed helicopters hovering over Sur for "security" reasons. Residents told me that they continue to use this method to protect their courtyards, which they consider private, from this surveillance technique. Dicle, with whom I had a conversation about this fabric roof I photographed (*figure-26*), explains how the ongoing use of surveillance technologies creates misery in their daily lives:

> We are living in a prison. Really! You know, we, as Kurds, like to sleep on the terrace, we make some canned goods for winter on the roof, our children play there. In fact, I should say they used to. You see, there are military helicopters flying around Sur. Did you hear their voice? […] They are not just flying; they are shooting. Last week, my children were on the roof playing with their friends. I heard a gunshot but didn't think that it had hit our house. Then they brought my daughter, she was thrilling. They targeted our children. My daughter couldn't talk after this day. Just a few words like mum and dad, but nothing else. You see. She is seven years old, but she started bed-wetting again after the war. You asked about everyday life, this is our everyday life[90].

[90] Original text: "Bir hapishanede yaşıyoruz. Gerçekten! Bilirsiniz, biz Kürtler terasta uyumayı severiz, çatıda kış için konserve yaparız, çocuklarımız orada oynar. Aslında eskiden oynarlardı da diyebilirim. Görüyorsunuz, Sur'un etrafında askeri helikopterler uçuyor. Seslerini duydunuz mu? [...] Sadece

Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Sky
Interview with Dicle

Miro, one of the participants, sees this as the transformation of even the sky into a battlefield. Here is what Miro said:

> They have blockaded your water, then your living space, above and below the ground, above and below the ground, even the sky. A helicopter hovers over you and detects you. They drop bombs wherever you go. It is enough to have anyone there. Because that helicopter was constantly circling, just giving coordinates and flying very high so that it wouldn't be a target. It was constantly giving coordinates. Imagine, they even made the sky a battlefield there[91].
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Sky
> Interview with Miro
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Coordinates of Destruction > Land; The Coordinates of Destruction > Underground; The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Drones and air vehicle; IMP > RED

Şeyhmus, an architect, explains this method of shielding to escape surveillance as follows:

> Then we saw that they covered the streets. Because the streets of Sur are narrow streets. When the helicopter was in the air, the cover was put up so that it could not see what was going on in the streets. Then the open streets, the streets that could be seen from afar, had white and black covers thrown over the entrance so that you couldn't see what was going on inside. There were such things[92].
>
> Code: ● The Coordinates of Destruction > Sky
> Interview with Şeyhmus
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Drones and air vehicle; RESISTANCE

In this context, it is evident that the urban residents have devised a lateral solution in response to a vertical threat, effectively mitigating the panoramic surveillance linked to the bird's-eye view. As previously explained, the residents removed dividing walls

---

uçmuyorlar, ateş ediyorlar. Geçen hafta çocuklarım çatıda arkadaşlarıyla oynuyordu. Bir silah sesi duydum ama evimize isabet ettiğini düşünmedim. Sonra kızımı getirdiler, çok heyecanlıydı. Çocuklarımızı hedef aldılar. Kızım o günden sonra konuşamadı. Sadece anne ve baba gibi birkaç kelime, başka bir şey yok. Görüyorsunuz işte. Yedi yaşında ama savaştan sonra yine altını ıslatmaya başladı. Günlük hayatı sordunuz, bu bizim günlük hayatımız."

[91] Original text: "Senin suyun, ondan sonra, yaşam alanının, yerin altını da üstünü de, yukarısını ya yukarısını, gökyüzünü bile düşünün abluka altına almışlar. Tepende helikopter dolaşıyor tespit ediyor. Gittiğin yere bomba atıyor. Herhangi birisi olması yeterli orada. Çünkü o helikopter sürekli dolaşıyordu, sadece koordinat veriyordu ve çok yüksekten uçuyordu hani hedef olmasın diye. Koordinat veriyordu sürekli. Düşünün gökyüzünü bile savaş alanı yaptılar yani orada."

[92] Original text: "Sonra sokakların üstünü örttüklerini gördük. Çünkü dar sokaklardır Sur sokakları. Havada hep helikopter gezerken sokaklarda olup biteni görmemesi için örtü asılmıştı. Sonra açık sokaklar, işte uzaktan görülen sokakların girişine de yine beyaz ve siyah örtüler atılmıştı içeride olup biten görünmemesi için. Böyle şeyler vardı."

that separated private properties. In tandem with this, the present section delineates their efforts in constructing fabric roofs as a tactical response.

5.2.1.2. The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur

Different spatial configurations cause a change in perspective, which I shall examine in this section of the thesis. By various spatial arrangements, I mean the myriad ways in which people assign purposes, connote meaning, and shape the space. Space is seen and perceived differently as a result of these configurations. Organization of space as dwelling, street, and infrastructure are the sub-headings of this chapter within the context of this thesis.

5.2.1.2.1. From Nest to Weeds Covered Land

The houses in Suriçi, which show a structure that can be called traditional Diyarbakır houses, generally "consist of buildings with adjoining order, earthen roofs, surrounded by high courtyard walls, as well as door, window, and bay window decorations" (Gökçe, 2020, p. 43). The main elements of the architecture of the houses are the court-yard and eyvans used in medieval Mamluk forms, and narrow, long rooms, pillars, and flat roofs reflect Sassanid and later Near Eastern architecture (Kuban, 1995, p. 229). As featured in *Diyarbakır Houses* (1977), one of the most important and classic studies on the traditional house architecture of Diyarbakır,

> Their appearance not distinctive when they are viewed from the street. Usually made up of rooms and 'eyvans' built around a court-yard, the houses openings to the street are restricted to 'Şahnişin' windows, skylights and external doors. […] The most significant component of the houses is the 'eyvan' which constitutes a whole with the yard. Most of life in the house passes there. Eyvans used in the summer are shadowy and cool with their pools and running water (Erginbaş, 1977, p.1).

In line with Erginbaş's description, the participants also emphasized the historical aspect of the houses in Sur. For them, another privilege of living in Diyarbakır Sur is residing in these historical buildings. To give an example from the participants' experience,

> Basalt stones that give that coolness [to Sur]. It is stone! I think that even the houses made of stone, rocks, in the worst-case scenario, are much better and healthier than

> these concretes. How long can this last! It has 7,000 years of history. In fact, most of the houses are caravanserais, this, that or converted places[93].
>
> Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Houses
>
> Interview with Seher
> Other codes assigned to segment: Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension > The Destruction of Collective Memory

In their retrospective recollections pertaining to the pre-war architectural aspects of Diyarbakır's residential structures, study participants recurrently referenced elements such as *eyvans*, the predominant use of basalt stone as construction material, and the geographical placement of their residences. Of notable significance, the narratives of participants prominently featured the eyvan architectural feature—a vaulted configuration that opens onto the courtyard and is enclosed on its three remaining sides. Additionally, the courtyards, often adorned with pools, were also frequently cited within the participants' accounts.

> So, Sur had what exactly? There were eyvans, there were walls. The walls were close to each other, the houses were close to each other. That way, life doesn't take place inside the house most of the time anyway. Houses were not limited inside. When you opened the window, you could communicate very easily with the house across the street. You don't even need to go down the street. Because there was a distance of 5 meters between you[94].
>
> Code: ● The Social Destruction of Sur > The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur
>
> Interview with Fırat

Similarly, the courtyards in Sur also found an important place in the narratives of the participants, especially as they are an important part of women's living spaces. These architectural elements, which are an important feature of Diyarbakır houses, are unique structures that carry the private and the public together. On the one hand, this architectural element, which is perceived as a continuation of the house and separated from the public space by a door, also functions as a socializing space as a continuation of publicness.

> There were also courtyards in Sur. The state's understanding was to break away from the understanding of communal life, which in fact constituted the living spaces of

---

[93] Original text: "[Sur'a] O serinliği veren bazalt taşları. Taştır taş! En kötü ihtimalle yapılan taş, kayataşlarından yapılan evlerin bile bu betonlardan çok iyi ve sağlıklı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bunun ömrü ne kadar olabilir ki! 7.000 yıllık tarihi var. Zaten evlerin çoğu Kervansaray, şu, bu ya da dönüştürülmüş mekânlar."

[94] Original text: "Yani Sur'da ne vardı? Eyvanlar vardı, duvarlar vardı. Duvarlar birbirine yakındı, evler birbirine yakındı. Şöyle yaşam zaten ev içerisinde de çoğu zaman geçmiyor. Evler içeride sınırlı kalmıyordu. Pencereyi açtığın zaman karşıdaki evle çok rahat iletişim kurabiliyordun. Sokağa inmenize bile gerek kalmıyor. Çünkü aranızda 5 metre mesafe vardı."

women in particular, who used the courtyard very effectively, perhaps what we call neighborhood relations[95].

Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Houses
Interview with Seher

Figure 27: From Nest to Weeds Covered Land
Source: Author's own Archive

These traditional architectural structures, which had been the homes of the city residents I interviewed, turned into collapsed sites in the post-2015 conflict process (*figure-27*). The residents of the city shared the traumas they experienced as the houses that were their homes before 2015 were completely demolished, and some of them were heavily damaged.

> I lived in Fatihpaşa. I'd been there for about 20 years. I moved there in 2001. It was a historic house. It was 2-story, with a courtyard and a pool. We were two families staying there. [...] I went in there, I went in illegally because it was banned. They wouldn't let me in. I didn't recognize my house when I entered. It's a weedy plot. There is nothing there. Nothing left. They moved the rubble while I was inside. I heard. A lot of families came anyway. Asking for their son. Some people went there to look for them. I couldn't go. I didn't feel like it. [...] I entered the land illegally. But I felt very bad. It's a weeds covered land. They flattened it. I didn't recognize my house. But I'd like to go back. I guess I would. I have everything there. Even if there is nothing left, I want to go back. People say they would set up a tent. So would I. Let them let us go there again. They won't even give us that. They say to give 80

[95] Original text: "Sur'da bir de avlular vardı. Avluyu çok etkin kullanan kendi özelinde kadınların yaşam alanlarını oluşturan, belki de komşuluk ilişkileri dediğimiz Aslında komün yaşam anlayışından koparmaktı devletin anlayışı."

> million. How can we do that? I had a house there. I didn't want a new house. I was happy with my house. I spent my youth there[96].
>
> Code: ● The Social Destruction of Sur > The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur> Houses
> Interview with Kulilk
> Other codes assigned to segment: Encountering with Corpse > Dealing with Dead Bodies

Another participant, Zîn, described what she saw when she visited the debris field as follows:

> For example, when we look at it from an urban point of view, we saw that all the houses in those neighborhoods, without exception, were shot at, turned into ruins, air conditioners, domestic appliances, especially electronics, were all destroyed[97].
>
> Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Houses
> Interview with Zîn
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Infrastructure

Residents who were allowed to go home for a few hours after the clashes ended to retrieve their possessions reported that white goods were targeted in particular. These electronics, which form part of the infrastructure of the home, were targeted, never to be used again.

> Food, for example, this was exactly the attack on white goods. Here, when you look at the region, women prepare food for winter and put it in deep freezers. They shared the food in the deep freezers with each other. During this process, there were actually attacks against the deep freezers in the houses. The freezers were especially used for those foods, so that they could not preserve their food, so that there was no water or electricity[98].
>
> Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Houses
> Interview with Güneş

---

[96] Original text: "Fatihpaşa'da kalıyordum. Yaklaşık 20 yıldır oradaydım. 2001'de taşınmıştım. Tarihi bir evdi. 2 katlı, havlulu, havuzlu. Biz iki aile kalıyorduk. […] Ben oraya girdim, kaçak olarak girdim, yasaklı çünkü. İzin vermiyorlardı. Girince evimi tanıyamadım zaten. Otlu bir arsa. Hiçbir şey yok. Kalmamış. Molozları ben içerideyken taşıdılar. Duydum. Bir sürü aile geldi zaten. Evladını sordu. Oraya gidip arayanlar olmuş. Ben gidemedim. İçim el vermedi. […] Ben kaçak yollardan girdim araziye. Ama çok kötü oldum. Otlu bir arsa. Dümdüz etmişler. Tanıyamadım evimi. Ama dönmek isterim. Herhalde isterim. Her şeyim orda. Kalmamış olsa bile ben dönmek isterim. Çadır da olsa kurarım diyor insanlar. Ben de öyle. Bıraksınlar biz yeniden gideriz oraya. Onu bile vermiyorlar. 80 milyon ver diyorlar. Nasıl verelim. Benim orda evim vardı. Ben yeni ev istemedim ki. Ben evimden memnundum. Benim gençliğim orda geçti."

[97] Original text: "Mesela kentsel olarak baktığımızda bütün evlerin o mahallelerdeki istisnasız bütün evlerin kurşunlandığı harabeye dönüştürüldüğü, işte evlerde klimaların beyaz eşyaların, özellikle elektronik eşyaların hepsinin tahrip edildiğini gördük."

[98] Original text: "Gıda mesela aynen özellikle bu beyaz eşyaya yönelik saldırı da zaten buydu. Burada hani bölge itibarıyla baktığınızda kadınlar kışlık hazırlarlar ve deepfreeze atarlar. Deepfreezede bulunan gıdaları birbirleriyle paylaşmışlardı. Bu süreç zarfında evlere yönelik, aslında o deepfreezelere yönelik saldırıların olması da bundan kaynaklıydı. Dondurucuların özellikle o gıdalara hani gıdalarını koruyamasınlar, su, elektrik olmasın."

Figure 28: New Constructions in Sur
Source: Author's own Archive

Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Misery in the Times of War

Participants stated that they had become homeless, detached from the environment to which they belonged, and therefore felt insecure and rootless. A home is a place of memory, transforming an ordinary table into an object of memory that is meaningful to a family (Seamon and Mugerauer, 1985, p. 220). All the Sur residents I interviewed stated that they would prefer to live in Sur despite the small size of their houses. There were some participants who said that they would prefer to live in small and unfavorable houses and conditions in Sur, where they have memories of living in Sur, rather than a more comfortable life in relatively developed and urban settlements such as Kayapınar (Dicle, Kulilk). For example, participants reacted to the destruction of their homes as well as the burning or tearing of their family photos.

Participants also reacted to the new construction works initiated after the demolished neighborhoods were cleared of rubble. UCTEA published a report on the ongoing

construction of these buildings, claiming that the houses marketed as traditional Diyarbakır houses are a distortion and manipulation (*figure-28*). The built environment in Sur, including damaged but still standing monumental buildings, was demolished immediately after the end of the war without any research. Shortly after the transportation of the rubble, new constructions started to emerge, commencing from the Hasırlı neighborhood. The new buildings, some of which remained in the Cevatpaşa Neighborhood and erupted in the Fatihpaşa and Hasırlı Neighborhoods, were transformed into synthetic living spaces where traditional architecture was ignored. Following this, I will discuss the post-war Haussmannization effort in Diyarbakır and the streets, which are just as distinctive as the city's homes.

5.2.1.2.2. From Dead End Streets to Haussmannian Boulevards

The traditional street structure of Sur consists of narrow and dead-end streets (*figure-29*) [*küçe*] (Kayan, 2019, 771). In their study on traditional Diyarbakır houses, Payaslı-Oğuz and Halifeoğlu describe the traditional street structure of Suriçi as follows:

> Suriçi was built on flat land. Since there was no preference for landscape, the climate was one of the main factors shaping the settlement. The flatness of the land and the lack of a certain directional concern enabled the formation of an organic street texture (2017, p. 346)

The narrow streets, passageways, and the architecturally diverse shortcuts allowed for a Schmittian tactical positioning in Sur during the war. These tactical maneuvers point to the *asyndetons* of Sur that stem from its structural scenery. As discussed in the theoretical part in Chapter 4, *synecdoche* and *asyndeton* are two of the stylistic figures that De Certeau use to describe this semantic diversity. In a synecdoche, one thing stands in for another. This connection between component and total may be seen in the minaret that stands in for a mosque and the helmet that stands in for a military zone. In contrast, asyndeton establishes meanings by omissions and silences. Skips, short routes, and gaps might be signs of asyndeton in a city. It messes with the regular rhythm of life by introducing new starts, stops, and speeds.

The traditional Suriçi street structure (*figure-30*), which takes the form of complex and often dead-end streets, has experienced great destruction with the war after 2015 and has significantly lost its original structure. It has been observed that new constructions

started to be built in the eastern part of Sur after 2016, including wide avenues and boulevards, without taking this street form into consideration (*figure-31*).

These wide avenues and boulevards, on the one hand, constitute the infrastructure that enables the construction of "traditional" Diyarbakır houses, while on the other hand, they point to the application of a modality of power in Sur.

> No one will call it Gavur Mahallesi or the neighborhood has changed, the street has changed, the streets have changed. There are no narrow streets. Have you been to the narrow streets? Have you seen those narrow streets before? Anyway, when you saw those narrow streets, it told you a lot. It tells you a lot. There was no need to talk there. Now those alleys are gone, those stones are gone[99].
>
> Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Streets
>
> Interview with Mıgırdiç
> Other codes assigned to segment: Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension > The Destruction of Collective Memory

The mentality here points to a form of governing through space that Walter Benjamin refers to as "strategic beautification." According to Susan Buck-Morss, what is being attempted in Paris in the wide boulevards where Louis Bonaparte's minister Haussmann's *artistic demolition* is an attempt to create a "social utopia."

Figure 30: An Example of Küçe
Source: Author's own Archive

Figure 30: Map of Street Structure
(Nolli Map)

[99] Original text: "Hani kimse Gavur Mahallesi demeyecek veya mahallesi değişti, caddesi değişti, sokakları değişti. Dar sokaklar yok. Siz dar sokaklara gittiğiniz mi? Sen daha önce görmüş müydün o dar sokakları? Zaten sen o dar sokakları gördüğünde o sana çok şey anlatıyordu. O sana çok şey söylüyor. Orada konuşmaya da gerek yok anlatıyordu. Şimdi o sokaklar yok, o taşlar yok."

As a classic example of reification, urban "renewal" projects attempted to create social utopia by changing the arrangement of buildings and streets -objects in space- while leaving social relationships intact. [...] The demolition of Paris occurred on a massive scale, as destructive to the old Paris as any invading army might have been. The urban "perspectives" which Haussmann created from wide boulevards, lined with uniform building facades that seemed to stretch to infinity and punctuated by national monuments, were intended to give the fragmented city an appearance of coherence. In fact the plan, based on a politics of imperial centralization, was a totalitarian aesthetics, in that it caused "the repression of every individualistic part, every autonomous development" of the city, creating an artificial city where the Parisian [...] no longer feels at home. (1989, p. 89).

Figure 31: Haussmannization Process in the Easternmost of Sur
Source: Google Earth (04/2023)

According to Harvey, the aim of Hausmann's idea of this "social utopia" was to transform Paris into "a city of capital under the protection of imperial authority" by creating the myth of a radical transformation around itself through creative destruction (2003, p. 260).

Haussmann's changes (with respect to perspectives on urbanization) in the built environment and political governance of Paris have been replicated in Diyarbakır Sur in the 21st century. In particular, the changes made in the public sphere have both provided favorable conditions for a surveillance society and rendered the space

suitable for war as a product of a *totalitarian aesthetic*. Marcus discusses these Haussmannistic interventions in the built environment of the city and especially in its public space as follows: "[T]he expansion of venues for leisure and entertainment, the improvement of urban infrastructure, the construction of broad boulevards, and the development of a unified plan to improve circulation among various parts of the city" (2001, p. 723).

In particular, the construction of wide boulevards and the exploitation of Sur as a touristic place, a place of entertainment and leisure activities, is an important element that manifests itself in new constructions. In this way, city dwellers are rendered visible and live in a surveillance system, while at the same time, Sur is designed as a visible space that can be intervened in. Large streets and avenues where military vehicles and construction equipment can easily enter have long been one of the methods used in the creation of "ideal" citizens. With this new structure, which presents a panoptic image in the Foucauldian sense, Sur also offers an important example of the *political economy of war*. This reading can be made through the post-2015 satellite images of Sur presented in *the figure-32*. It is possible to see the role of war in the transformation of space into an area of rent, that is, the transformation of soil into land, in the post-2015 Sur images. Balding lands have been transformed into profitable spaces on which rentier economy will rise.

5.2.1.2.3. From Infrastructure to Rubble

Infrastructure is also directly related to everyday life and the politics of civil society. Infrastructure, in this sense, is, on the one hand, an essential element in the subject construction and, on the other hand, the spatial counterpart of state authority and its political sovereignty. Public service and the means used for this service are ideological tools of the nation-state. Boeckler and his colleagues explain the relationality of infrastructure with the nation-state and the security mechanism as follows:

> Linking graduate sovereignty to territoriality brings about various "sovereignty regimes" as a result of distinctive combinations of central state authority and political territoriality expressed in "infrastructural power" (Agnew 2005, 443f.). Infrastructural power is the capacity of the state to centrally coordinate the activities of civil society through the provision of public goods and services (Mann 1984, 188). Particularly this delivery of public goods gave a boost to the territorialization of

> sovereignty. Infrastructure is part of the material regime of logistical power that helped to form territories and indirectly rule nation states (Boeckler et al., 2015, p. 6).

In this way, the daily infrastructure under the control of the central state power is likewise militarized. There are military and civilian repercussions of using everyday infrastructure as weapons. In this sense, an attack on infrastructure is also an attack on the bio-social being of human existence. Another extension of the destruction of the urban in Sur was the destruction of infrastructure. In addition to services such as electricity, water, sewerage and communication networks, public buildings providing health services and entrances to and from Sur were also targeted. Şeyhmus, an architect among the participants, summarized this process as follows:

> Let's go in stages. The demolition zone was de-populated after the conflict. First of all, it was dehumanized. When the de-humanization took place, electricity and water or sewage no longer have any use for that area. Therefore, electricity and water were cut off. Then the demolition started. When the demolition started, the sewage and water networks, which we call the existing infrastructure, were completely destroyed because they were going to create a new living space. Because the existing infrastructure has no meaning since it will be rebuilt. Therefore, intervention was also necessary. It would probably be sufficient to say that both life and space were destroyed in Sur as a whole[100].
>
> Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Infrastructure
> Interview with Şeyhmus
> Other codes assigned to segment: DISPLACEMENT AND FORCED MIGRATION

Apart from the disruption of essential utilities such as electricity, water supply, and sewage systems, the impairment of communication networks played a pivotal role in rendering the overall infrastructure effectively nonfunctional.

> Because all means of communication were dysfunctional. No cell service, no internet. They could only use landline phones. Even then, no one used landline phones; they were usually in official institutions[101].
>
> Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Infrastructure
> Interview with Miro

---

[100] Original text: "Şimdi aşamalı gidelim. Yıkım bölgesi, çatışma sonrası insansızlaştırıldı. İlkin insansızlaştırıldı. İnsansızlaştırılma gerçekleştiği zaman artık elektrik ve suyun ya da kanalizasyonun herhangi bir yararı yok o bölge için. Dolayısıyla elektrik ve sular kesildi. Sonrasında yıkım başladı. Yıkım başladığı zaman artık yeni, kendilerine göre yeni, bir yaşam alanı yaratacakları için var olan altyapı dediğimiz kanalizasyon ve su şebekeleri tamamen tahrip edildi. Çünkü yeniden yapılacağı için var olanın bir anlamı yok. Dolayısıyla ona da müdahale gerekti. Bir bütün olarak Sur'da hem yaşam hem mekân ortadan kaldırıldı dersek herhalde yeterli olur."

[101] Original text: "Çünkü iletişim araçlarının hepsi işlevsiz durumdaydı. Telefon çekmiyor, internet yok. Sadece sabit telefonları kullanabiliyorlar. O da kimse sabit telefon kullanmıyordu, genellikle resmî kurumlarda vardı."

Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Misery in the Times of War

One such piece of evidence pointing to dysfunctional lines of communication is that:

> You know, the people in the neighborhood couldn't use it anyway. Since there is no electricity, there is no communication with them. There were serious problems there, even in neighborhoods where there was no conflict. In the neighborhoods where there was no conflict, we were still experiencing network problems, internet problems. For example, there were serious problems with the internet. Especially the names of these things are TURKCELL, VODAFONE, AVEA. Especially

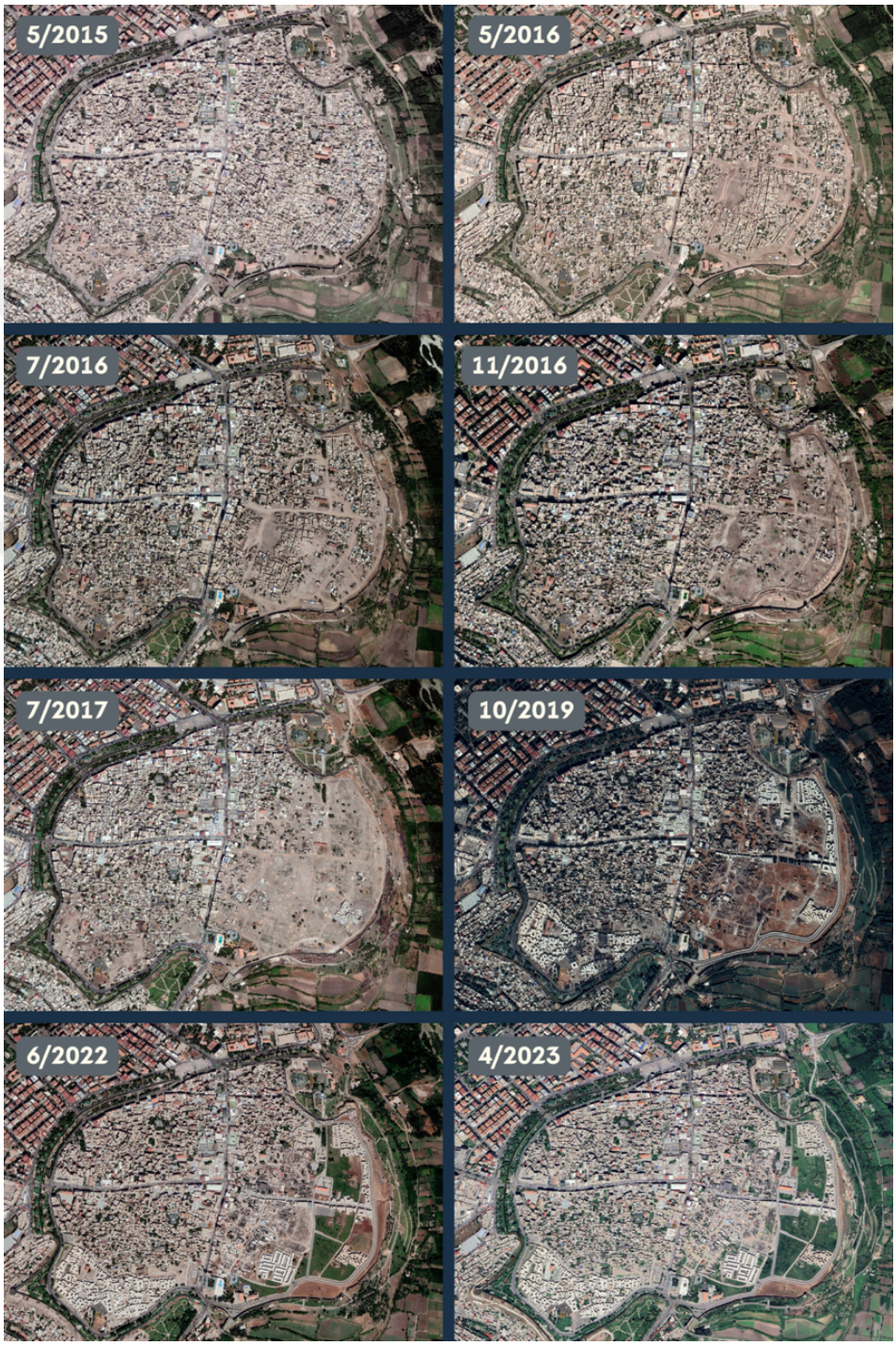


Figure 32: Satellite Images from 2015-2023
Source: Google Earth

> TURKCELL's phone networks were cut off at that time in a very serious way. We were still able to provide transportation via cable internet[102].
>
> Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Infrastructure
> Interview with Roni

The existing infrastructure in Sur was as historic as the unevenly urbanized *gecekondu*[103] district itself. Therefore, a new and more advanced infrastructure system was needed in Sur, which became a rent-seeking area after the demolition. In addition, the attack on infrastructure was also intended by participants to prevent the public from sharing information about what was happening in the isolated Sur. In other words, the political authority used the fact that people did not have access to modern conveniences like mobile phone service, the internet, and electricity to shape the narrative of what transpired. One way to achieve this was to use the state of emergency to take all the powers of the Sur Municipality, which was responsible for the construction and repair of the infrastructure in Sur, and transfer them to the relevant ministry. In this way, both the design and construction of the new infrastructure would be realized with the direct intervention of the political authority, and the transfer of information from Sur through a state institution such as the municipality would be prevented.

> When we look at the current situation, as the municipality, we are currently the co-mayor of Sur district, but we have a situation like not being able to enter the six neighborhoods in our own area. We do not know what is actually happening in these six neighborhoods, which are directly connected to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. There is a situation where 3 neighborhoods of these six neighborhoods are completely destroyed, and the other 3 neighborhoods are destroyed at a rate of 50%, 40%, 30%[104].
>
> Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Infrastructure

---

[102] Original text: "Hani zaten mahalledekiler kullanamıyordu. Elektrik olmadığı için zaten, onlarla iletişim sağlanamıyor. Orada ciddi sıkıntılar yaşanıyordu çatışmanın olmadığı mahallelere de. Biz halk olarak yaşadığımız çatışmanın olmadığı mahallelerde de biz yine şebeke problemi yaşıyorduk, internet problemi yaşıyorduk. Aynen mesela internette ciddi sıkıntılar vardı. Özellikle bu şeyler ismi nedir TURKCELL'dir VODAFONE'dur AVEA'dır. Özellikle TURKCELL çok ciddi bir şekilde o süreçte telefon şebekeleri kesilmişti. Biz yine kablolu internet üzerinden ulaşım sağlayabiliyorduk."

[103] Gecekondu is a settlement having similarity with slum areas. It means in Turkish "'built overnight' and is used initially to refer to squatter housing a large part of which has been authorised in the early 1980s" (Eroğlu, 2011, p. 1).

[104] Original text: "Şu durumda baktığımızda belediye olarak da şu anda Sur ilçesine belediye eş başkanıyız ama kendi alanımızda olan altı mahalleye girememe gibi bir durumumuz var. Direkt Çevre Şehircilik Bakanlığına bağlanan bu altı mahallede aslında ne oluyor ne bitiyor bilmiyoruz. Bu altı mahallelerinin 3 mahallesinin toptan yok edildiği, diğer kalan 3 mahallenin %50 %40 %30 oranlarında yok edilmesi durumu var."

Interview with Seher
Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

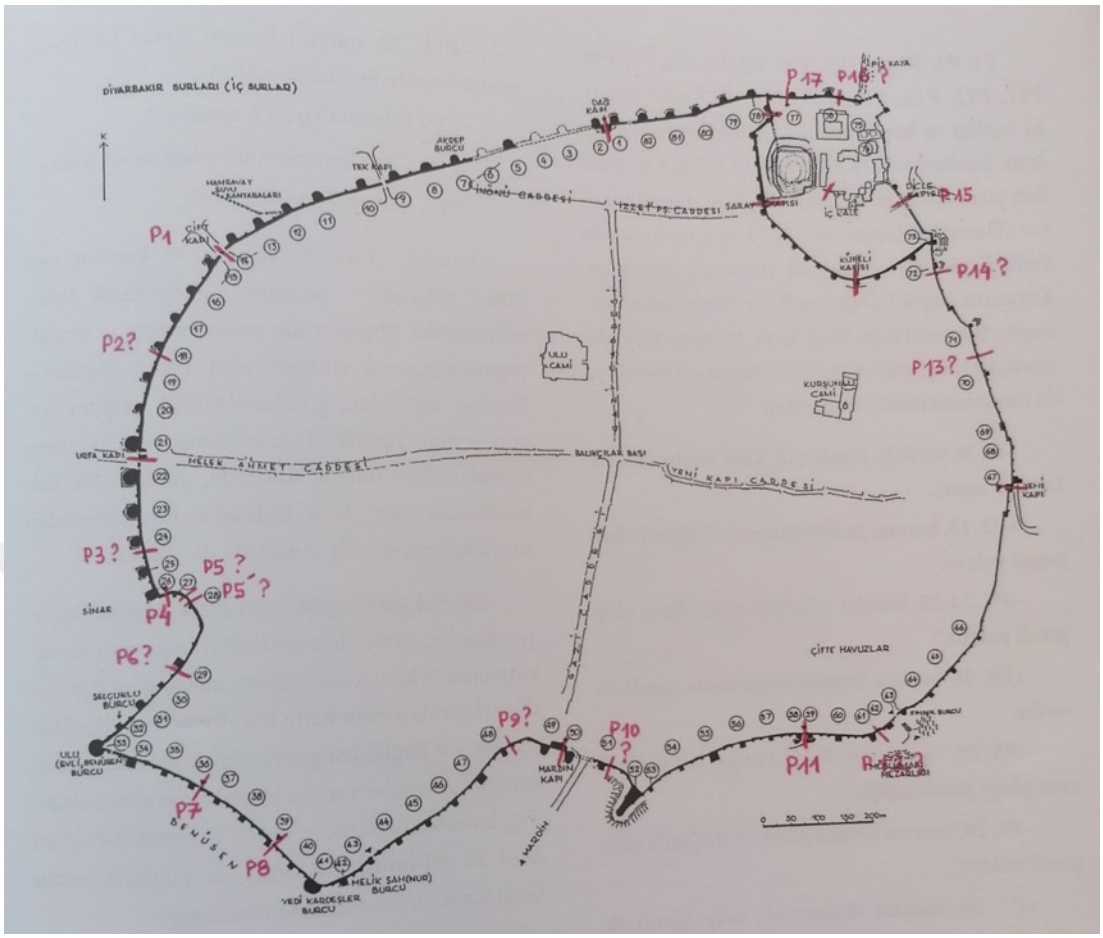


Figure 33: Gates of Sur
Source: Ersöz (2013)

The letter "P" has been used as a symbol for doors that have continued to be in use until this day, while "P?" is a term used to refer to doors that were mentioned in historical records but are no longer exist today.

The optical and telecommunicative closure of the city wall to the outside world was also physical. In terms of its structure, the fortification consists of walls that completely enclose the settlement. As can be seen in the map-image from Orhan Cezmi Tuncer in the *figure-33*, in addition to the four main gates of the city wall, namely Dağ Kapı, Urfa Kapı, Mardin Kapı and Yeni Kapı, there are also small gates open to pedestrians. The gates marked with a question mark on the map are those that have not survived to the present day, while only those marked with a *P* are still in use. During the war period, in order to ensure the complete isolation of the city wall, these points were closed off by the military either with concrete blocks or by direct pouring of concrete. The testimonies about this are as follows:

> Güneş: I mean, the Sur itself was also damaged; it would have damaged the bodies. Of course, for example, things were closed there, there were open places, the gaps were closed.

Roni: There are gates, for example, when we look at Sur in general, there are gates for the passage of pedestrians and vehicles, there are passageways, all of these...
Güneş: Except for the 4 big gates, there were smaller and smaller gates. Those for pedestrians were different from those for vehicles. For example, there were small ones like Şehitlik, Hasırlı, or the cemetery or the hospital side, which were only used by pedestrians.
Roni: These were filled with concrete. This historical building was filled with concrete, and some of it was damaged; some of it was destroyed by those tanks and cannons[105].

Code: ● The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur > Infrastructure

Interview with Güneş
Other codes assigned to segment: Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension > The Destruction of Collective Memory; The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks

Figure 34: Police Barriers in Sur (Dağ Kapı)
Source: https://xxi.com.tr/i/sur-notlari-yikim-kusatma-yeniden-insa

Access Date: 08/08/2023

The destruction of infrastructure, which is one of the main determinants of urbicide and shows how everyday life is militarized, is also encountered in the case of Sur, where the buildings of institutions providing health services were first demolished and then replaced with police stations.

There is a children's shelter here, let's call it a children's shelter. For example, they demolished it and turned it into a police station. A reinforced concrete building. They brought the project of the police station that was built in the mountains, in the

[105] Original text: "Güneş: Yani şeyin Sur'un kendisine de zarar verildi yani, bedenlere de zarar verirdi. Tabii canım Orada mesela şeyler kapatıldı açık yerler vardı, aralıklar kapatıldı.
Roni: Kapılar olur mesela Sur'un geneline baktığımızda yayaların ve araçların geçişi için olan kapılar vardır, geçitler vardır Bunların hepsi…
Güneş: 4 büyük kapıdan hariç küçük küçük geçitler vardı. Yaya için olanlar farklı araç için olanlar farklıydı. Mesela işte Şehitlik, Hasırlı tarafına geçeceği ya da mezarlığa geçeceği küçük böyle ya da hastane tarafına geçecek sadece yayaların kullandığı yerler vardı.
Roni: Bunlar betonla dolduruldu. Bu yapının tarihi yapının içi betonla dolduruldu ve bir kısmı zarar gördü bir kısmı, o tanklardan toplardan yıkıldı."

> mountains, in the mountains of Hakkari, and applied it in Sur and Bağlar. There was a health center. They demolished the health center and built the same police station there[106].
>
> Code: ● The Social Destruction of Sur > The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur
>
> Interview with Şeyhmus
> Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The State of Emergency and Exception

In 2019, when I conducted my fieldwork, I witnessed mobile police stations and police barriers in many parts of Sur (*figure-34*). Especially at the end of the streets leading to the area, which was not yet allowed to enter and surrounded by barriers, were enclosed by structures that could be called police stations. My close-up photographs of these areas attracted the attention of the police officers at that checkpoint as I took too many photos, and almost resulted in detention. After an identity check, my photographs of the police point were deleted, and I was released. Following the spatial dimension, I will delve into the temporal dimension of spatial violence in Sur.

5.2.2. Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension

The temporal dimension of Diyarbakır Sur will be analyzed from the perspective of rhythmanalysis through an investigation of the syncope caused by war and destruction. As is known, rhythm covers the "forms of experience in their temporal-spatial ordering" (Chen, 2016, p. 1). Therefore, for rhythms to constitute a form of life, the interaction of subjects is necessary. The repetitive experiences of city dwellers lead to a linear and rigid perception of everyday life. In the modern world where "all that is solid melts into air," (Berman, 1988) no socio-spatial experience can be read in a linear and rigid form. From the perspective of matter-energy flows, which de Landa also takes as a conception of life, the universe is composed of flows of matter and energy solidified by history and sociality. In de Landa's words,

> As the biogeographer lan G. Simmons puts it, 'The flows of energy and mineral nutrients through an ecosystem manifest themselves as actual animals and plants of a particular species.' Our organic bodies are, in this sense, nothing but *temporary coagulations* in these flows: we capture in our bodies a certain portion of the flow at

[106] Original text: "Buradaki bir tane çocuk şeyin orada [haritada gösteriyor], çocuk sığınma evi diyelim. Orayı mesela yıktılar karakola dönüştürdüler. Betonarme bina. Aynı dağlarda yapılan, dağlarda yani Hakkâri'nin dağında yapılan karakolun projesini getirdiler Sur'da Bağlar'da uyguladılar. Sağlık ocağı vardı. Sağlık ocağını yıktılar, aynı karakoldan oraya yaptılar."

> *birth*, then release it again when we *die* and microorganisms transform us into a new batch of raw materials[107] (2000, p. 104).

These temporally crystallized flows create a rhythmicity with their continuous reproduction. These temporal coagulations, which are naturalized by becoming ordinary, are actually a field of difference production. Each moment that appears to be repetitive is unique in that spatio-temporal context. Lefebvre expresses this particularity as follows: "'there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference'" (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 6). In this sense, it is repetition that both constitutes the individual by creating uniqueness and at the same time ensures belonging to a community.

> One can and one must distinguish between education, learning, and dressage or training. Knowing how to live, knowing how to do something and just plain knowing do not coincide. Not that one can separate them. To enter into a society, group or nationality is to accept values, to learn trade by following the right channels, but also to bend oneself to its ways. Which means to say: dressage. Humans break themselves in like animals. They learn to hold themselves. Dressage can go a long way: as far as breathing, movements, sex. It bases itself on repetitions (Lefebvre 2004, p.39)

A non-linear spatio-temporality, in this sense, points to the paradoxical unity of repetition and difference. Difference emerges in the repetition of rhythm, almost in the uniqueness of a work of art, without being reduced to sameness. In this sense, we can talk about both quantitative and qualitative aspects of repetition. Syncope points to a qualitative break at this point. In this study, war and disoriented violence are considered as a moment of syncope. Within the scope of the fieldwork, I will talk about moments of ruptures crystallized in the fluidity of the human body, the vines covering the rubble, amputee animals, bombs and armored vehicles, as can be seen in the participant statements, examples of which I will include below. War, as an almost milady metaphor, points to a fundamental arrhythmia that points to the absence of these ruptures. All narratives are divided into pre- and post-war, and all spatio-temporal references to the pre-war are made with reference to the post-war. In other words, the urban memory of the pre-war period was reshaped by the war. The past and the present are colonized by moments of rupture through ruins. One of the most striking examples of this on the field is what Roni said:

> I don't remember anything from before. We call it the laundry, the Four-legged Minaret, etc. I don't remember what it used to be like. It's as if it never happened,

[107] Italics are mine.

> as if we didn't live there. As if those places were always destroyed. Believe me, I don't remember. Everything was covered in smoke[108].
>
> Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life
> Interview with Roni
> Other codes assigned to segment: War Description

The following are the subheadings under which I expound upon both the epochal rupture termed the war moment and the syncopated episodes encompassing the urban experience, with particular emphasis on the urban populace, throughout this transformative period.

5.2.2.1. Moments of Rupture

Because of the fractures in continuity, history may be interpreted not in a linear but in a stochastic or contingent perspective. Ruptures, in this sense, illuminate not just temporal jumps but also these condensed time frames. Ruptures, in this view, are the manifestation of a fundamental duality. Following is the dialectical explanation offered by Holbraad et al. for this dual quality:

> after Spinoza, we call the 'dual aspect' of rupture: while rupture operates as an inherently negative moment – a critical cut or 'switch-point' that instigates a significant break with existing conditions – by the same token it can act as a positive or dynamic impulse towards escape, redirection, reconstitution and sometimes renewal. In our conceptualization, then, ruptures are moments at which value emerges through a break with something (Holbraad et al., 2019, p. 1).

In order to understand and historicize the urban destruction in Sur, we can mention certain moments that were pointed to in the interviews. Without exception, all interviewees identified the war as a turning point. For all narratives, the temporal breaking point was defined by the start of the war. All of the pre-war narratives asked to the interviewees were described together with the war. In other words, the war deconstructed the pre-war historical narrative.

On the other hand, there are certain historical moments from the pre-war period that are important in the collective memory of the residents of the city and the region. One

---

[108] Original text: "Ben önceye dair bir şey hatırlamıyorum. Çamaşırhane diyoruz, Dört Ayaklı Minare diyoruz falan ya, ben oraların eski halini hatırlamıyorum. Sanki hiç olmamış gibi, orada biz yaşamadık gibi. Sanki o yerler hep yıkıkmış gibi. İnan hatırlamıyorum. Duman altında kalmış her şey."

of the interviewees even described this state of war as an ongoing situation, referring to the overlapping of traumas. In his words,

> Now war is a trauma in itself. But this war has a peculiarity in that it is an unfinished war. The elimination of the first trauma, the earthquake trauma, the migration trauma, the elimination of the first trauma, there are things, there are environments, you create the infrastructure psychologically, you do it. But the situation here is a little different. The trauma of war has been going on for 40 years and still continues. It continues in different versions. Now there were children whose houses were destroyed. We talked about these children whose memories were shaped by village evacuations. The same children saw their homes, their city destroyed, their streets removed, their social life, the stones on the streets where they felt they belonged, and when they were removed, they were removed in such a way that they were wiped out with bulldozers! All their memories, all their lives and experiences were taken away and thrown into a garbage bin. There was politics in this![109]
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > War Description
>
> Interview with Fırat
> Other codes assigned to segment: Encountering with Corpse > Dealing with Dead Bodies
> Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension > The Destruction of Collective Memory
> The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers
> The Social Destruction of Sur > The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur
> The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks
> DISPLACEMENT AND FORCED MIGRATION; MOMENTS > Burning Down of Villages

The main moments of the pre-war period are the genocide narratives, the village burnings in the region in the 1990s, the 1980 Coup, 2009-2012 urgent expropriation process, the Rojava Democratic Autonomy Period[110], and the ditches. These moments are important as they point to how the heterogeneous structure of Sur has been systematically eliminated over time and how this has been intertwined with forced migration and displacement policies. The attack on the heterogeneity of the city in the Cowardian sense indicates a situation in which different state apparatuses and political projects were used over a much longer period of time for the Sur settlement. In this

---

[109] Original text: "Şimdi savaş zaten başlı başına bir travmadır. Fakat bu savaşın şöyle bir özelliği var, bitmemiş bir savaş olmasından kaynaklı olması. İlk travmanın ortadan kaldırılması, deprem travmasıdır, göç travmasıdır, ortadan kaldırılması, şeyler vardır ortamlar olur psikolojik olarak da altyapısını oluşturursunuz, yaparsınız. Ama burada durum biraz daha farklı. Savaş travması 40 yıldır devam ediyor ve hala devam etmektedir. Farklı versiyonlarla devam etmektedir. Şimdi evleri yıkılan çocuklar vardı. Bu çocuklardan bahsetmiştik anıları köy boşaltmalarla şekillenmişti. Aynı çocuklar evinin, şehrinin yıkıldığını, sokağının ortadan kaldırıldığını, kendi toplumsal yaşamının, kendisini ait hissettiği sokaktaki taşların ortadan kaldırıldığı ve kaldırılırken de öyle bir yöntemle kaldırılmış ki dozerlerle silerek! Bütün oradaki anıları, bütün yaşamları ve yaşantıları hepsini götürüp çöp kutusuna atılması. İşte bunda bir politika vardı!"

[110] Rojava is a de facto autonomous region in Syria, having self-governing cantons including Afrin, Jazira, Euphrates, Raqqa, Tabqa, Manbij, and Deir Ez-Zor. "In January 2014, the Kurds declared Democratic Autonomy and established in three cantons in Efrîn, Kobanî and Cezîre" (Duman, 2015, p. 27).

sense, the attack on heterogeneity is only a part of the war for Sur. The resettlement policy forward by the Republic of Turkey from its early days to the present has determined the social, political, and spatial stance of Kurdish citizens in particular.

In fact, the 1934 Settlement Act's Law No 2510 included regulations directly targeting Kurdish settlements (Yeğen, 2007, p. 129). The assimilation and control policies carried out against the ethnic heterogeneity of Anatolia led to the forced displacement of a significant number of Kurdish citizens on the grounds of this law (Kılıçaslan, 2015, p. 160). Until the 1990s, migration and resettlement policies continued as a follow-up to this law. For example, one of these practices was the establishment of a State of Emergency Regional Governorate based in Diyarbakır on July 19, 1987, with Decree-Law No. 285 on the Establishment of the State of Emergency Regional Governorate, in order to carry out the duties stipulated by Article 121 of the Constitution and Article 3 of the State of Emergency Law No. 2935 (Beysanoğlu, 2019, p. 1172). By the 1990s, "army campaign […] was quite violent, marked by summary executions, the burning of houses and possessions, killing of livestock and destruction of crops and orchards" (Jongerden, 2007, p. 254)[111]. Covering 13 provinces, the State of Emergency Regional Governorate continued until 2002.

Figure 35: Ditches and Barricades
Source: https://www.al-monitor.com/tr/contents/articles/originals/2016/03/turkey-why-pkk-carry-clashes-cities.html

Access Date: 03/03/2019

[111] See also https://t24.com.tr/haber/biz-koy-yakma-taburuyduk-1994te-30-koyu-yaktik,243668

Between 2009 and 2012, the urgent expropriation of Sur was a widely discussed subject. Legislation 6306, sometimes known as the disaster law, designated the whole settlement a risky zone on December 4, 2012. It was stated by the interviewees that this historical moment was one of the turning points in Sur residents' relationship with the Kurdish Political Movement. In 2009, an expropriation process was initiated in a section of Sur (specifically, the Alipaşa Neighborhood). However, this effort soon morphed into a displacement project that involved both the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality and the Sur Municipality. In response to protests by those who were displaced, the municipalities decided to abandon the protocol in 2012. During an interview, an urban planner characterized this entire process in the following manner:

> No, the protocol was signed in 2009; it started as a process, the expropriation process started, and some of them, as I said, accepted, were convinced, and migrated to other places. But some of them were already resisting in the first days, there were those who resisted saying that they would not give it to us. The process of persuasion started with the intervention of the municipality. Again, some were convinced, but some were not convinced in any way. They said we don't accept it, we are not leaving our living space. Then the municipality faced social resistance, and when the municipality realized the mistake it had made, it withdrew its signature from the protocol in 2012. Between 2009 and '12, they demolished the houses that had already been vacated through expropriation, one by one, in a localized way[112].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Peace Process
> Interview with Şeyhmus

2015 was the year in which the aforementioned Settlement Act's Law and the State of Emergency practices started to reappear in government policy. A brief summary of the process is provided in the Migration Monitoring Association's report,

> On 16.08.2015, curfews were declared in Varto district of Muş and later spread to 11 provinces, including Diyarbakır, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ, Hakkari, Mardin, Siirt, and Tunceli. Between 16.08.2015 and 14.06.2019, curfews were declared 386 times in 525 neighborhoods, 406 villages, 345 towns, and 209 regions in 46 districts[113] (MMA, 2019, p. 2).

---

[112] Original text: "Hayır 2009'da protokol imzalandı, bir süreç olarak başladı, kamulaştırma süreci başladı bir kısmı dediğim gibi kabul ettiler, ikna oldular ve göçüp gittiler başka yerlere. Fakat bir kısmı da ilk günler zaten direnenler vardı vermeyeceğiz şeklinde direnenler vardı. İşte belediyenin araya girmesiyle ikna süreci başladı. Yine bir kısmı ikna olduğu fakat bir kısım da hiçbir şekilde ikna olmadı. Biz kabul etmiyoruz, yaşam alanımızı terk etmiyoruz diyerek. Sonra işte toplumsal bir dirençle karşılaştı belediye ve belediye de yaptığı yanlışı görünce ondan dolayı 2012'de çekti protokolden imzasını. 2009'la 12 arasında zaten kamulaştırmayla birlikte boşalan evleri tek tek öyle lokal anlamda yıktılar."

[113] Original text: "16.08.2015 tarihinde Muş'un Varto ilçesinde ilan edilen sokağa çıkma yasakları daha sonrasında Diyarbakır, Batman, Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ, Hakkâri, Mardin, Siirt, Tunceli illeri olmak üzre

Figure 36: Ditches and Barricades
Source: https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/surdaki-esnaftan-hendek-tepkisi/490346

Access Date: 09/09/2018

The deployment process in Sur, known as the "ditch wars," emerged as a result of the distrust between the warring parties during the peace process. In that period, holes were dug in the narrow streets of Sur, which functioned as barricades, and access to the streets was blocked by using items such as sandbags (*figures-35-36*). Testimonies from that period show that this process was handled very strategically by both the KWP and the state. Participants mentioned that when the ditches were dug, law enforcement officers were aware of this and that surveillance gaps were created to facilitate this situation.

> People were going there, sightseeing, like a tourist attraction. There were no bans back then, there were no clashes. But what was the matter was that everyone was walking around with guns, they were walking around like this. Trenches were being dug. There was no government saying "what are you doing here." No, people were going to ask about their children, "I wonder if my child is here or not." Because I was hearing it myself, you know, families were coming to us and telling us. You know, let's see who's here, if friends are there, let's see who's there and who's not, and this went on for months, you know[114]?

---

11 ile yayılarak devam etmiştir. 16.08.2015 - 14.06.2019 tarihleri arasında 46 ilçede 525 mahalle 406 köy 345 mezra ve 209 bölgede 386 kez sokağa çıkma yasağı ilan edilmiştir."

[114] Original text: "İnsanlar gidiyordu, geziyor orada turistik şey gibi. O zamanlar yasaklar yoktu, çatışmalar da yoktu. Ama neydi herkes silahlarla geziyordu, üzerleri şey böyle geziyorlardı. Hendekler kazılıyordu. Hiç devlet "burada ne yapıyorsun" diyen yoktu. Hayır insanlar çocuklarını da sormaya gidiyordu, "acaba benim çocuğum burada mı değil mi" diye. Çünkü ben kendim duyuyordum, hani aileler bize gelip bize söylüyorlardı. Hani kimler var burada falan hani arkadaşlar oradaysa bir bakalım kimler var kimler yok ve bu aylarca sürdü biliyor musunuz?"

Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Ditches
Interview with Roni

At that time, the fact that the two sides treated each other with such leniency caused some of the city residents to adopt a critical attitude toward the KWP. On the one hand, my interviewees criticized the state's policies at the time, and on the other hand, they said that the Kurdish political movement had taken an unpredictable course of action, leaving the residents of the city alone in a war for which they were not prepared. For example, in one of my interviews, the following conversation took place:

> Rengin-3: Also, there were strange processes in the ditch events here. Because ditches were being dug. The police were on the streets, they were not intervening in the ditches, they knew.
> Rengin-2: They knew, they saw, but they didn't intervene.
> Rengin-3: Now let's evaluate this process as something like this, the people do not want to talk about it like this, but at least I wonder if the organization and the state are working together[115].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Ditches
> Interview with Rengin-2 and Rengin-3
> Other codes assigned to segment: KWP

After mentioning the main ruptures in the history of the city and its inhabitants in the pre-war period, I will focus on the ruptures in everyday life that occurred after the war. I will include syncopes in rhythm to see the temporal dimension of Urbicide.

5.2.2.2. The Ruptures in Everyday Life

In the post-2015 period, Sur is characterized by a state of exception in the Agambenian sense. The state of exception refers to a closed and surveilled neighborhood where the extraordinary becomes ordinary for city dwellers. In Stavrides' words, "exception is condemnation: life completely given over to otherness" (2010, p. 56). The violent rhythmic ruptures brought about by the exception create new rhythms with its normalization. In a situation where life persists, those who remain have to cope with

[115] Original text: "Rengin-2: And many people had this perception.
Rengin-3: Hem buradaki hendek olaylarında tuhaf süreçler vardı. Çünkü hendekler kazılıyordu. Polisler sokaklardaydı, hendeklere müdahale etmiyorlardı, biliyorlardı.
Rengin-2: Biliyorlardı, görüyorlardı ama müdahale etmiyorlardı.
Rengin-3: Şimdi bu süreci şey olarak değerlendirelim, halk böyle dillendirmek istemiyor da en azından acaba örgütle devlet beraber mi çalışıyor?
Rengin-2: Ve birçok kişide bu algı oluştu."

these extraordinary experiences and survive. In particular, Agamben's (2005) modern state of exception, with the grounds of public good and legitimacy it creates, imposes that those who remain must live within these limits of necessity. The post-2015 process in Diyarbakır Sur has changed the economic, social, and cultural rhythm of everyday life with the special conditions of war. The first of these is that the presence of heavy weapons and military vehicles has become part of the daily rhythm of the city. The second is that the noise of bombs and warplanes in flight has become the norm, overpowering the everyday hum of Sur (which includes the sounds of interaction between people, animals, vehicles, nature, and objects).

Figure 37: New "Traditional Houses"
Source: MA

5.2.2.2.1. The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers

Before the clashes that began in 2015, Sur was a settlement with all the characteristics of an urban center. Sources emphasize both the commercial and cultural mission of Sur. Historically, the fact that Sur was often used as an administrative center gave the city a significant economic advantage (Baş, 2013, p. 20). Economic activities and professions include metal works such as coppersmithing, tinsmithing, goldsmithing, calligraphy; textiles such as wool-making, carpet-making, agricultural activities that have developed significantly with the influence of the Hevsel Gardens made fertile by the Tigris (Işık, 2013, p. 288), and various provisional merchant activities such as grocery, butcher, corn-seller, jewellery and souvenir shops. Sur has developed an

Figure 38: New "Traditional Houses"
Source: https://sputniknews.com.tr/20220105/mimarlar-odasindan-sur-evleri-tepkisi-diyarbakir-evlerine-benzeteyim-derken-cezaevine-benzedi-1052428041.html

Access date: 02/08/2023

important street and neighborhood culture with its convenient street structures and house architecture. Participants noted that the rhythm of pre-war daily life was characterized by economic and social activities related to work and leisure. Women, in particular, spoke of a pre-war daily life that was a cycle of domestic work, child, elderly and disabled care. It was also noted that the content and intensity of work changed depending on seasonal rhythms. For example, women said that in summer they prepared canned food for the winter and cleaned winter items such as wool quilts. For men, it was stated that if they did not have a job in Sur, they had to leave the city for a while to work as seasonal workers or in the construction sector.

Figure 39: An Image of Armored Vehicle
Source: MA

Figure 40: An Image of Armored Vehicles
Source: https://www.voaturkce.com/a/hendek-operasyonlari-tamamlandi/3227842.html

Access date: 03/08/2023

However, after the war, in the six neighborhoods where the destruction was widespread and severe, these activities came to a complete halt, especially along the Eastern front. After a long period of stagnation and recovery, the image of an economically thriving city center has been replaced by an urban transformation area (*figures-37-38*). At first, according to the participants, the arrival of armored vehicles and military ammunition in the city (*figures-39-40*) was perceived as a cinematographic event in the name of intimidation, and it was never thought that the violence would reach these levels.

> The tanks arrived and were transported in these long vehicles. We somehow thought it was a bit of a show of force, we said that the tanks are coming, not because they will actually be used, but the state is bringing them as a show of force. They were lined up around the conflict areas of the neighborhood. Somehow later we realized that this was not the case. Because after a while the tanks started to be used and the cannons started to explode. That surprised us a lot and made us uneasy. There was shooting towards the neighborhood[116].

Figure 41: Sur from the inner City (İç Kale)
Source: Author's own Archive

[116] Original text: "Tanklar geldi bu uzun araçlarla taşındı tanklar. Biz hani bir şekilde işte birazcık gövde gösterisi olarak düşündük dedik ki tanklar geliyor aslında kullanılacağından değil de bir gövde gösterisi olarak devlet getiriyor. Mahallenin çatışmalı bölgelerinin etrafına dizilmişti. Bir şekilde sonra onun öyle olmadığını gördük. Çünkü bir süre sonra tanklar kullanılmaya başlandı böyle patlatılmaya başladı topları. O bizi çok şaşırttı hem de tedirgin etti. Mahalleye doğru ateş ediliyordu."

Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers
Interview with Roni
Other codes assigned to segment: The Ruptures in Everyday Life > Cannonry as Background Music; The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks

In my fieldwork in 2019, one of the two images to describe Sur's demolition site (*figure-41-42*) was bags of cement, and the other was the absurd positioning of armored vehicles in everyday life. The participant explains how, with a sudden and unexpected break, tanks and bombs started to be used frequently in everyday language:

> I mean, as a civilian, as an individual living in this society, we never expected that a city would come to a point where a place where people, civilians live, where we live, could be destroyed by tanks and artillery[117].

Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers
Interview with Neco
Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Civilian and Militant; Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The State of Emergency and Exception; The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks

Figure 42: Sur from the inner City (İç Kale)
Source: Author's own Archive

[117] Original text: "Yani bana bir sivil olarak, bu toplumda yaşayan bir birey olarak, aslında hiçbir zaman bir kentin insanların, sivillerin yaşadığı, bizlerin yaşadığı bir yeri böyle tank toplarla yok edilebileceği bir noktaya geleceği noktasını hiçbir zaman beklemedik."

Participants provided accounts delineating the phenomenon of armored vehicle parades, which commenced during the onset of the conflict era and gradually assimilated into the fabric of their daily existence. These narratives underscored the process by which the conspicuous presence of military vehicles was normalized within the contours of their quotidian lives.

> TOMAs everywhere, armored vehicles passing by. Like this, armored vehicles loaded with weapons passing by all the time. Many streets were closed, there were curfews. They are still closed. For example, the area around the governor's office is closed. Or around the police station. In other words, this state of emergency has been normalized in the city[118].
>
> Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers
> Interview with Mem
> Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The State of Emergency and Exception; The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks

In Sur, where concrete blocks (*figure-44*) and armored vehicles have become as commonplace as a traffic light or a garbage truck, syncopation in rhythm has occurred. Syncope, as used in music, refers to a loss of rhythm or an unexpected addition of rhythm. The rhythmic variation of syncope creates arrhythmia in situations such as war. The state of war, which creates a break in the rhythm of everyday life, has been extended to the surveillance of houses by armored vehicles.

> At night, for example, they used to look inside the houses with lights. You know those lights on scorpions [Turkish infantry mobility vehicle], they would purposely search houses like that. People couldn't sleep at night. Even during the day, after a certain hour, the street would turn into a ghost town. Because no one could go out. It was the same in Diyarbakır. For example, yes there were clashes there, but there were tomas and scorpions here too. All over the city. They were marching with anthems and insults[119].
>
> Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers
> Interview with Güneş
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Ruptures in Everyday Life > Cannonry as Background Music; The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks

---

[118] Original text: "Her tarafta TOMAlar, işte zırhlı araçların geçişi. Böyle şey gibi, böyle silah yüklü zırhlı araçların geçişi sürekli işte. Birçok cadde kapalıydı sokağa çıkma yasakları vardı. Hala da kapalı. Mesela valiliğin çevresi kapalı. Ya da emniyetin çevresi kapalı. Yani şu anda kent bir yandan da bu olağanüstü hâl pozisyonu olağanlaştırıldı."

[119] Original text: "Gece mesela şey yapıyorlardı, ışıklarla evlerin içine bakılıyordu. Akreplerdeki o şey ışıkları var ya bilerek evler böyle aranıyordu. İnsanlar yatamıyordu yani gece. Zaten gündüz de hani belli bir saatten sonra sokak hayalet kent şekline bürünüyordu. Çünkü kimse dışarıya çıkamıyordu. Diyarbakır'da da öyle. Mesela evet orada çatışma vardı ama tomalar, akrepler burada da vardı. Şehrin her yerinde. Marşlarla hakaretlerle geziyorlardı."

Figure 43: Images of Concrete Blocks in Sur
Source:
https://ferhatozgur.com/filter/experimentalphotography/Gates-of-Sur-serial-photos

Access Date: 03/08/2023

The extent to which participants have become accustomed to the parade of armored vehicles and their presence in the heart of the city can be seen in their knowledge to distinguish and even name military vehicles (like Dragon). The idea of naming, as Susan Buck-Morss (1989) explores with reference to Walter Benjamin, is formulated, much like Adam's act of naming the animals of Paradise, "translating Being into language." In this sense, the concept of the "name" alludes to the unique ability that God has endowed human beings with, above all other living things, to give verbal expression to the essence of Being. As the first thinker, Adam gave the animals in Paradise their names (1989, p.104). In this case, naming the military vehicles corresponds to the inclusion of the foreign to playing in the field of power, as de Certeau puts it. In this case, naming, which creates a power relationship, creates a space that reverses power relations and enables movement in the very sphere of power.

It is imperative to incorporate the auditory dimension alongside the visual cadence of everyday life. Subsequently, the examination shall proceed to explore the subject of artillery fire, constituting yet another rupture that precipitates syncopations within the daily rhythmic fabric.

5.2.2.2.2. Cannonry as Background Music

> *Rhythmanalyst is always 'listening out', but he does not only hear words, discourses, noises and sounds; he is capable to listen to a house, a street, a town, as one listens to a symphony, an opera. Of course, he seeks to know how this music is composed, who plays it and for whom.*
>
> *Lefebvre, 2004, p. 1*

Understanding urban through a sonic approach and music as the organization of noise will open up a discussion on power relations in an aural sense. Taking into account the city as an aural space allows for the symphony of a variety of, sometimes competing, forms and styles. As opposed to visual, the city as a sonic space will be another rhythmic dimension of modern urban. Scrutiny on urban soundscape, in that sense, becomes an important aspect of rhythmanalysis. Just like rhythmic moments, sonic events are non-repeatable and changeable; they create difference (Procházková, 2018, p. 98). Sonic mapping or soundwalking techniques have recently become popular as a part of rhythmanalysis. Although soundmapping (Droumeva, 2017; Levy-Landesberg, 2021; Waldock, 2011) and soundwalking (Frauke, 2018; Loveless, 2020; Truax, 2017) were not technically practiced in this thesis, the sonic ambience of the city was recorded as field notes during the interviews. Among these notes, the most notable rhythmic moments are the sounds of fighter jets during night take-offs and interview times, as well as the sounds of armored vehicles passing by at any time of the day. While these sounds that I witnessed during my field research in 2019 were strange and terrifying for me, they had already taken their place among the everyday sounds of the city among the city dwellers. This situation, which I will explain with an example below, took its place as sound documenting in the transcripts and field notes of my field interviews.

The transformative process at play here is one wherein sound evolves from a state of mere noise to assume the role of a substantive discriminator, only to revert to its former

status as noise within the intricate tapestry of everyday life. It is noteworthy to underscore the inherent semantic proximity of noise to concepts such as disorder, arrhythmia, and syncope in this context.

> For a sound to qualify as noise, it must lack syntax and be disorderly, unregulated, unrhythmical, and discordant. Noise can be shrill or mournful, but not harmonious. Frequently, noise lacks a temporal or concrete form, because it is persistent and uncontrollable. Yet, noise is context-bound and subjective […] Sounds are likewise perceived as noise when they do not have use-value and seem gratuitous (Boutin, 2015, p. 5).

The contextual dependence of Noise underscores the existence of a discernment process that arbitrates between what constitutes noise and what constitutes a structured or organized sound. This entropic condition is regarded as precarious from the perspective of power dynamics. Power, deriving its authority from its capacity to comprehend the Other, endeavors to impose predictability and significance within an established order. In consonance with this perspective, Attali (1985) expounds upon the notion that noise, and by extension its organized counterpart, music, serve as emblematic indicators of authority. This assertion is substantiated through his argument that:

> Make people Forget, make them Believe, Silence them. In all three cases, music is a tool of power: of ritual power when it is a question of making people forget the fear of violence; of representative power when it is a question of making them believe in order and harmony; and of bureaucratic power when it is a question of silencing those who oppose it (Attali, 1985, p. 19).

Attali also touched upon the relationship of noise as an attribute of power to violence. In his words,

> music will be presented as originating in ritual murder, of which it is a simulacrum, a minor form of sacrifice heralding change. We will see that in that capacity it was an attribute of religious and political power, that it signified order, but also that it prefigured subversion (Attali, 1985, p. 4).

When we look at the sonic state of urban life in Sur during and after the war, it would not be surprising to talk about a situation in which the sounds of bombs, armored vehicles, aircraft, and helicopters have become commonplace[120]. The narratives of the participants show that they accept that the sounds of bombs, ambulances, armored

---

[120] See *video-image of Sur during the war by* https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x3pfams *Access Date: 08/08/2023*

vehicles passing by, and fighter jets, which were at their peak during the war, are a reality of the post-war city, albeit gradually decreasing. Many daily tasks had to be carried out under the sound of bombs.

> I didn't witness anything first-hand, but it was really difficult to survive in those conditions. Even our psychology was upset. When we were entering the courtroom, there were the sounds of bombs[121].
>
> Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > Cannonry as Background Music
> Interview with Ali

One of the interviewees described (Roni) how, on the night of the coup attempt on July 15, 2016, they interpreted the attacks with armored vehicles and bombings in Ankara, which they watched on live TV, from their homes, almost like a military officer. Seeing armored vehicles in the center of Ankara, on the streets, in everyday life did not come as a surprise to them and led to discussions among them about which vehicle the sounds coming from the screen belonged to.

> Think of it as if they put on a bomb in the background on Youtube. They put it in a loop, it's playing. But you know it's not a song. Someone dies, someone gets hurt. It falls on a house. A memory is destroyed. Lives are gone[122].
>
> Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > Cannonry as Background Music
> Interview with Narin
> Other codes assigned to segment: Encountering with Corpse > Dealing with Dead Bodies

On the one hand, this everyday urban noise, caused by war and mixed with military ammunition, creates the possibility for its receivers to receive it in a different way and to attribute meaning to it. Attali says the following about this possibility:

> The absence of meaning, as we have said, is nonsense; but it is also the possibility of any and all meanings. If an excess of life is death, then noise is life, and the destruction of the old codes in the commodity is perhaps the necessary condition for real creativity. No longer having to say anything in a specific language is a necessary condition for slavery, but also of the emergence of cultural subversion (1985, p. 122).

I will give two examples from field research of how the absence of meaning is transformed by listeners by assigning meaning to it. The first is the account of a city

---

[121] Original text: "Benim birebir tanık olduğum bir şey yoktu ama hani gerçekten o koşullarda hayatta kalmak gerçekten çok güçtü. Bizim bile psikolojimiz altüst olmuştu. İşte duruşmaya girerken bomba sesleri ile giriyorduk."

[122] Original text: "Şey gibi düşünün, sanki arka fonda bomba sesi açmışlar Youtube'dan. Loopa almışlar, çalıyor. Ama sen bunun bir şarkı olmadığını biliyorsun. Birileri ölüyor, birileri yaralanıyor. Bir evin üstüne düşüyor. Bir hatıra yok oluyor. Hayatlar gidiyor bir kere."

dweller who did not leave her house during the war, and who spoke about the sound of bullets.

> She makes fun of something, she makes fun of the sound of a bullet. So she doesn't forget for a moment how dangerous it is for her, but she ignores it. Maybe, maybe this is a kind of coping method. If she doesn't forget it, she will be affected worse, but she ignores it. She makes fun of it too. [...] The woman was laughing and talking about it. She was saying, "The sound of bullets, it sounds like flies" or something like that[123].
>
> Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > Cannonry as Background Music
> Interview with Narin

The second was the participants' reactions to the sound of fighter jets and helicopters, which I frequently encountered during my visits to the city. The majority of the participants said that these sounds have become a part of their daily lives and that they are not as affected as they used to be.

> It must sound strange to you [referring to the noise a fighter jet makes when it breaks the sound barrier] [laughs]. Well, for us it has turned into something we play in boredom. Let's say there's a noise, my spouse says, "It's because this type of airplane broke the sound barrier." I say, "No, it's a sound bomb." It's actually a tragic situation. But we laugh[124].
>
> Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > Cannonry as Background Music
> Interview with Narin

In the next section, where I move from the rhythm of the everyday to the ruptures in memory, I will focus especially on the destruction of monuments, the crystallized embodiments of social memory.

5.2.3.2. The Destruction of Collective Memory

Connerton, an important figure who examines the link between memory and *topos*, characterizes the art of memory as "connected to a spatial system." He mostly brings

---

[123] Original text: "Bir şeyle dalga geçiyor, işte bir kurşun sesiyle dalga geçiyor. Yani onun kendisi için ne kadar tehlike içerdiğini bir an olsun unutmuyor ama görmezden geliyor. Belki de, belki de bu bir tür baş etme metodu. Onu unutmasa daha kötü etkilenecek ama yani işte görmezden geliyor. Onunla da dalga geçiyor. […] Kadın bir yandan işte bir yandan gülerek anlatıyordu. İşte "kurşun sesleri, sinek gibi geliyor" falan diyordu. Ya da mesela bunu da gülerek anlatıyordu."

[124] Original text: "Sana garip geliyordur bu sesler [savaş uçağının ses duvarını aştığı zaman yaptığı gürültüden bahsediyor] [gülüyor]. Valla bizim için can sıkıntısında oynadığımız bir şeye dönüştü. İşte bir gürültü oluyor diyelim, eşim diyor ki "şu tip uçağın ses duvarını aşmasından dolayı olmuştur." Ben diyorum, işte, "yok ses bombasıdır." Aslında trajik bir durum. Ama gülüyoruz işte."

up memory and the idea of "spatial memory" while discussing the structural amnesia that characterizes contemporary society (Connerton, 1989; 2009). According to him, there is a clear contrast between the memorial and locus, as he describes in his work, *How Modernity Forgets*. These two ideas, which are ideal types, indicate a distinction between "constructed" things and "lived" spaces. According to him, the distinction between *being related to* and *dependent upon* separates these two ideas (2009, p. 20). Connerton explores the political aspect of "naming" and the body politics of the powerful via the place naming for memorial space and 'the pilgrimage journey example.' According to Connerton, the locus is the site of cultural memory. In fact, at this stage, the concept of locus is approaching Lefebvre's *lived space*.

> The house is not only a building in which a group of people lives. It provides more than a shelter and spatial disposition of activities, a material order constructed out of walls and boundaries. Over and beyond this, it is a medium of representation and, as such, can be read effectively as a mnemonic system (2009, p. 19).

Fırat, one of the participants, used the metaphor of "like a fish out of water." Comparing the taking away of water from fish, which is its living space, with the displacement and destruction they themselves experienced, Fırat linked existence to identity and pointed to the relationality between space and memory. In his words,

> It is not a matter of coping with trauma; it is a matter of learning to live with trauma, of getting used to trauma. Nothing ends here! For example, when there is an earthquake trauma, everything is physically destroyed, then it is rebuilt, you go back to your old life, but your cultural life, your living space is actually destroyed. You just enter into a new life. Like a fish out of water: 'Either you will find water, or you will stop being a fish[125].'
>
> Code: ● IMP > RED
>
> Interview with Fırat
> Other codes assigned to segment: Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension > The Destruction of Collective Memory

The interconnectedness of everydayness, rhythm, memory and, of course, space can be seen very clearly in Miro's example of a visually impaired resident of Sur.

> Because it is a concrete example. There was a blind woman in Sur. She has been working and living inside for many years. That woman can visit all of her neighbors by knowing the number of steps. She can go out and do her work according to this

[125] Original text: "Travmayla baş etmek değil, travmayla yaşamayı öğrenebilmek, travmaya alışma meselesi. Burada biten bir şey yok! Mesela bir deprem travması olduğu zaman fiziki olarak her şey yıkılır, sonra tekrardan yapılır, eski yaşama dönersiniz ama sizin kültürel yaşamınız yaşam alanınız ortadan kalkıyor aslında. Sadece yeni bir yaşamın içine giriyorsun. Sudan çıkmış balık misali: 'Ya bir su bulacaksınız ya da balık olmaktan vazgeçeceksiniz.'"

number of steps. She is blind. But she could walk everywhere by heart. She could go everywhere. Then her neighborhood was demolished. She lived in Ali Paşa. It was not a conflict zone, but then it was somehow demolished and opened for rent-seeking. Now there are villas ready to be sold in her neighborhood, you may have seen them. That woman described it as 'they took my life away from me.' Now she probably continues her life in a closed place somewhere in Diyarbakır, but she said 'I could see here, but I can't see anymore.' Normally she is visually impaired, but not anymore. He was saying, 'Right now my life is just bread and water.' Now my life has been taken away from me. I had been used to this place for years. It had such a negative consequence for him. There are many similar examples like this[126].

Code: ● IMP > RED

Interview with Miro
Other codes assigned to segment: Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension > The Destruction of Collective Memory; The Social Destruction of Sur > The Scenery of the Destruction in Sur

Figure 44: Albert Gabriel's Sur
Source: (Gabriel, 2014, p. 97)

[126] Original text: "Miro: Somut bir örnek olduğu için. Sur'da bir kör kadın vardı. Teyze uzun yıllardır da çalışıyor, içeride yaşıyor. O kadın komşularının hepsini adım sayısını bilerek gezebiliyor. Dışarı çıkıp işlerini bu adım sayısına göre halledebiliyor. Gözleri görmüyor. Fakat her yeri ezbere yürüyebiliyordu. Her yere gidebiliyordu. Sonra kadının mahallesi yıkıldı. Aliye Paşa'da yaşıyordu. Çatışmalı bir bölge değil de sonra bir şekilde yıkıldı ve ranta açıldı. Şu anda onun mahallesinde satılmaya hazır villalar yapılmış, görmüşsünüzdür. O kadın şöyle tanımlıyordu 'benim hayatımı benden aldılar.' Şimdi muhtemelen Diyarbakır'ın bir yerinde kapalı bir mekânda hayatını devam ettiriyor ama diyordu "ben burada görüyordum ama artık göremiyorum.' Normalde görme engelli ama artık. O diyordu 'Şu anda hayatım ekmek ve sudan ibaret.' Artık benim hayatım benden alındı. Ben yıllardır buraya alışmıştım. Böyle olumsuz bir sonucu oldu onun için. Buna benzer bir sürü benzer örneklerde vardır."

For a city dweller who finds her way through the rhythm of the everyday, the individualized appearance of social memory, and in this sense, who lives not by seeing the city but by hearing, smelling, touching and stepping on the traces of the past, the destruction of the city also means the destruction of her own sociality.

Monuments have been one of the clearest manifestations of the interconnectedness of space and memory. Monuments such as the Kurşunlu Mosque, the Four-legged Minaret, the Armenian Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, and traditional Diyarbakır houses were severely damaged and nearly destroyed. During the conflict period, curfews have been declared many times, and *the state of emergency* has become the norm in this region. In this situation, which resembles urban warfare, the space, with its historicity and morphology, has been one of the main perpetrators of the conflict. Only three of the destroyed and damaged monumental buildings will be covered here: Kurşunlu Mosque, the Armenian Catholic Church, and the Four-legged Minaret.

5.2.3.2.1. The Destruction of Monuments

As Lefebvre puts it, every society creates its own spatiality and centrality (its own spatial architectonics) that opens up certain possibilities but also creates contradictions. This centrality manifests itself in architecture or, more directly, in the monument that houses the forms of memory in space. As spatialities where social memory takes form, monuments turn any place into *a site of historicity* and, at the same time, into *an utterance in everyday language*. At this point, the monument points not only to multiple historical layers but also to a moment beyond history where the past, present, and future meet. In Benjamin's terms, the material world is the reflection of accumulated history: Various traces of the past are marked in the products of commodity culture, and likewise, there is a correlation between commodity culture and certain forms of historicity (Olick and Robbins, 1998, p. 106). Meltem Ahıska's paper on the Tophane Workers' Monument in Istanbul is a fundamental contribution to this ambiguity of monuments: They do not only contribute to the closure of the past as a dead body but also create a regime of memory and desire that serves power (2011, p. 9). According to Ahıska, this oscillation also oscillates between life and death. Monuments are symbols of death or the past, but they can also be read as a sign of life.

They are there to immortalize a mythic memory that constructs an imaginary community by playing a complex game with life and death and blurring the boundary between them. Monuments deny death by giving life to what is dead, but they also deny life because they are nothing but stone (Ahıska, 2011, p. 25). In short, monuments petrify life.

Figure 45: Kurşunlu Mosque on Map
Source: Google Earth and Author's own Drawing

Through such a reading, the ruin -the destruction of monuments -functions as a cultural object, both because monuments are objects in which the remains of the past are concentrated and because these remains acquire new meanings with the destruction. With the traces of the past and the new framework of meaning brought about by the destruction, the ruins of monuments become the symbol of political discourse and ultimately determine the new destructions that societies will experience in the future (Devecka, 2020, p. 3). In this perspective, the fact that the vast majority of these structures were demolished for strictly military reasons in the process that began after 2015 can be read as a destruction of the experience and collective identity. In this sense, the destruction of monumental architectural structures is a dusty reflection of the power in the hands of the destroyer.

As previously delineated, monuments, characterized as works of translation, evoke a spectrum of ethnic, religious, and political responses within the context of Diyarbakır Sur. One noteworthy exemplification of these political responses is exemplified by the Kurşunlu Mosque (*figure-46*) situated within the precincts of the Fatihpaşa neighborhood. Also recognized as the Fatihpaşa Mosque or the Bıyıklı Mehmet Pasha Mosque, it holds the distinction of being the first Ottoman architectural edifice in Diyarbakır, constructed during the 16th century under the auspices of the contemporary governor, Bıyıklı Mehmet Pasha. Notably, this mosque was erected atop

Figure 46: Screenshots of the Scenes from the Clip by Sat5 Production
Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1k_CQb5X8-4

Access Date: 02/08/2023

a pre-existing church, as corroborated by historical sources (Berchem et al., 1910, p. 7; Hewsen, 2006, p. 69; Hovannisian, 2006, p. 3).

Albert Gabriel, an architect, voyager, and archaeologist, whose works serve as a seminal reference for architectural documentation in Diyarbakır, (especially for the bird's-eye view city plan visualizations of Sur shown in *figure-47*), provides an insightful historical commentary on the Kurşunlu Mosque, expounding upon its historicity in the following manner:

> It was built in 928/1522 by Bıyıklı Mehmet Pasha, commander of the Ottoman army that controlled the region. The central dome is pillared by three semi-dome on the south, east, and west. There is a seven-span portico to the north, and the minaret is cylindrical. Near the mosque are the mausoleums of Bıyıklı Mehmet Pasha and Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha (2014, p. 179).

In the aftermath of the year 2015, the mosque emerged as one of the most prominent architectural edifices, gaining widespread notoriety due to reports of conflagration and subsequent demolition. In December of that year, the Diyarbakır Governor's Office issued an official statement positing that the mosque had deliberately fallen victim to arson. The pronouncement contained a series of justifications and arguments, which are delineated as follows:

> It is learned that on 07.12.2015 at around 9.20 a.m., members of the separatist terrorist organization started a fire inside the mosque in order to prevent the security forces from carrying out activities in the Sur district to close the trenches and removing the barricades and that the original doors and shutters were burned and the walls were damaged (Diyarbakır Valiliği, 2015).

Monuments, akin to other architectural entities, serve a dual function, not solely confined to the proclamation of destruction but also as instruments facilitating the construction of power dynamics predicated upon the notion of "otherness," as is perceptible in the official proclamation by the Governorate. Within this framework, it can be posited that monuments operate as both conduits of communication and tangible manifestations of the exercise of power. In this context, Zeynep Sayın provides elucidation concerning how monuments function to reinforce the disciplinary modality inherent in the exercise of power:

> When peoples go through great times internally, these times express themselves externally. What artifacts say is more convincing than what is spoken at such times:

> it is a word made of stone. [...] It is clear that, in fact, monuments instill adaptation, often even fear[127] (2021, p. 33).

In his important work on the destruction of memory, Robert Bevan points out that the attack on architecture and the memory materialized in its body, and in this sense, the positioning of monuments as a military target, points to a different relation of power: this attack means the domination, terrorization, division or destruction of the enemy nation/people through the destruction of its cultural heritage (2006, p. 8). According to this perspective, the purpose of attacking architectural structures that embody memory is not to eliminate the enemy army but to implement ethnic cleansing or genocide through other means. At this point, Bevan makes a very important observation: "Here architecture takes on a totemic character: A mosque, for example, is not just a mosque; in the eyes of the enemy, it represents the existence of a community that must be destroyed and annihilated" (2006, p. 8). In this sense, the targeted destruction of monumental architectural structures is not collateral damage (casualties) of war but rather one of the goals of the war.

Monuments acquire a political quality as they are the embodiment of memory. This political quality can also be seen in their targeted destruction. In the Kurşunlu Mosque, the walls, ornaments, and decorations of the mosque were damaged in a massive fire after the start of the war. In addition, the use of heavy weaponry resulted in the destruction of the mosque's domes, courtyard, and surrounding walls. The historic fountain in the courtyard of the mosque, which was built as an addition to the main

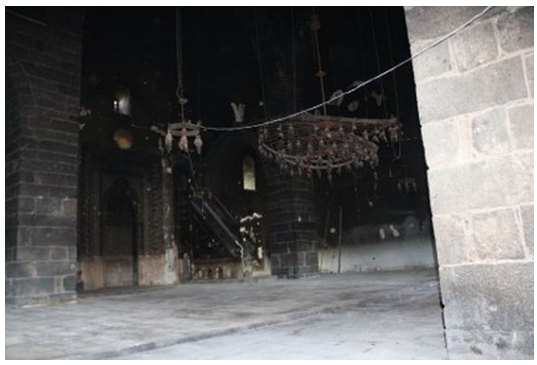


Figure 47: Demolition of the Interior of the Mosque
Source: https://www.vgm.gov.tr/haberler/diyarbakirdaki-ilk-osmanli-eseri-fatih-pasa-kursunlu

Access Date: 01/08/20223

[127] Original text: "Halklar içsel olarak büyük zamanlardan geçtiğinde bu zamanlar kendilerini dışsal olarak ifade eder. Yapıtların dile getirdikleri böyle zamanlarda konuşulanlardan daha ikna edicidir: taştan yapılma bir sözdür. […] Çok açıktır ki, aslında anıtlar adap, hatta çoğu zaman korku aşılamaktadırlar."

structure, was completely destroyed. The parties blamed each other for the cause of the fire and responsibility for the destruction, and the Kurşunlu Mosque was included in an ethnic and nationalist discussion. The image in the *figure-47* is a screenshot of a scene from the clip by Sat5 Production, which was released one month after the official end of the war. The destruction of the historical fountain, the side walls of the mosque, and its general appearance are clearly visible.

Figure 48: Kurşunlu Mosque in Re-Opening Ceremony
Source: https://www.vgm.gov.tr/haberler/diyarbakirdaki-ilk-osmanli-eseri-fatih-pasa-kursunlu

Access Date: 05/01/2022

The photographs in the *figure-48* are important for visualizing the destruction of the interior of the mosque (especially the minbar and mihrab sections, the chandelier, upholstery, and decorations). The visual material used in the mainstream media, which facilitates the imagination of the destruction among the masses, functions as a visual tool to understand the extent of the destruction on the one hand, and on the other hand, they become symbols of the politicization of the destruction. For example, in *the image* in *figure-49*, the first detail that draws attention in the visualization of the Kurşunlu Mosque is the Turkish flag. Especially in most of the visualizations of the opening ceremony, the frame is set to show the flag and the destruction together. A similar nationalist discourse can be found in the video by *Sat5 Production*, in which the Kurşunlu Mosque is used as a background along with the demolished houses. The flag

and bodily symbols pointing to nationalism are the main reference point of both the video clip and the visualizations during/after the war. For example, one of the participants perceived the message given by the flag as follows:

> For example me, let me tell you the moment I felt the worst. After the clashes ended, I came in May and I walked the streets by myself and there were more concrete blocks with Turkish flags on them and when I took a photo the police made me delete it. For example, I felt very bad at that time. Suriçi was full of Turkish flags and all the clashes were over in March, I think I came in April or something like that. I mean, I had just come to visit, I had come to meet X for example. That was one of the worst moments of my life. All the alleyways were blocked off with concrete, and very interesting police officers had put chairs in front of their blocks and they were eating beans. And it was very interesting, for example, on Turkish flags, and in some places, like the front of the army, there were images like sandbags stacked on top of each other on the front, not concrete. For example, those images don't exist now. You can't go inside, on the street, but that April was very interesting, Turkish flags were placed on all the lamps on Gazi Street in Sur[128].
>
> Code: ● The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers
> Interview with Narin

From the 18th century onward, discussions on historical monuments and the concept of monument began to appear in the literature. In the same century, buildings were deemed worthy of preservation due to their historical and artistic value and were started to be named monuments. In a sense, monuments, as tools for rewriting history, play an important role in social memory and at turning points in history. In fact, monuments, which are created by basing national historiography on common morality and national spirit, emerge as the representative of a perceptible collective social life. In this sense, their destruction, along with the value they represent, is both political and ideological. In this process, which Eric Hobsbawm calls "the ideology of destruction," history is rewritten through destruction in the hands of nationalist thought. Hobsbawm explains the ideology of destruction as follows:

---

[128] Original text: "Mesela ben, benim en kötü hissettiğim anı söyleyeyim sana. Çatışmalar bittikten sonra ben Mayıs'ta geldim ve tek başıma sokakları gezmiştim o zaman daha şeyler vardı beton bloklar ve üzerlerinde Türk bayrakları vardı ve ben fotoğraf çektiğimde sildirdi bana polis. Mesela ben o zaman da kendime çok kötü hissetmiştim. Suriçi tamamen Türk bayrağıydı ve bütün şeyler çatışmalar Mart'ta bitti, bence ben Nisan'da falan gelmiştim. Çok de şeydi yani daha yeni böyle gezmeye gelmiştim, X ile görüşmeye gelmiştim mesela. Hayatımda en kötü hissettiğim anlardan biri de oydu. Bütün ara sokaklar, blok perdeler, betonlarla kapatılmıştı ve çok enteresan polisler sandalye koymuştu bloklarının önünde çekirdek çitliyorlardı. Ve çok enteresan mesela işte Türk bayrakları üstünde bir de asker cephesi gibi bazı yerlerde beton değil de bayağı cephede kum torbaları üst üste konulur ya öyle görüntüler vardı. Mesela şimdi o görüntüler yok. İçeri giremiyorsun, sokağa ama o Nisan ayı çok enteresan, Sur içindeki Gazi Caddesi üzerindeki bütün lambalara Türk bayrağı konulmuştu."

> For history is the raw material for nationalist or ethnic or fundamentalist ideologies, as poppies are the raw material for heroin addiction. [...] If there is no suitable past, it can always be invented. Indeed, in the nature of things there is usually no entirely suitable past, because the phenomenon these ideologies claim to justify is not ancient or eternal but historically novel. [...] The past legitimizes. The past gives a more glorious background to a present that doesn't have much to show for itself (1993).

Figure 49: Kurşunlu Mosque in Re-Opening Ceremony
Source: AA

The Kurşunlu Mosque, in this sense, is not just a mosque. It signifies the existence of local peoples and their unique culture. The targeted demolition of these structures is not only a military consideration but also a rejection of a people's or a community's history, as well as its future, in order to write a new history. The new sociality that emerges through a mosque in Sur and its demolition is a unifying and symbolizing definition of "Us" and "Other" that is attempted to be "legitimized" on the level of imagination. In this sense, the first-person plural pronoun, which is called linguistic imperialism, is an important part of national identity formation. "We" is put forward as a symbolic use that ensures unity, sameness and solidarity, and uniqueness. The historically expanding "we" here also includes a linguistic expression and a call to include not only the living but also the dead (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 45-47).

In the ceremony organized for the reopening of the Kurşunlu mosque in March 2019, Turkish flags were used as decorations on the exterior of the mosque and in the courtyard used as a ceremony area, and a banner with the Turkish Presidential forseat was placed at the entrance of the mosque (*figure-49-50*). Halil Nalçaoğlu, in his seminal study on the relationship between nationalism and the land (*home-land*),

explains the iconization of flags, maps, and busts as the manifestation of nationalist imagination, which he discusses with reference to Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. Nalçaoğlu explains the connection of this ambiguous iconization with nationalist ideology as follows:

> In particular, the appearance of 'logologized' Turkish flags, maps of Turkey, and Atatürk icons in the political sphere (from lemon packets to electricity and dry-cleaning bills) can be partially explained by Anderson's argument that national territories are abstracted and turned into logos. (2020, p. 304).

Here, the flag is a sign of belonging (to whom the existing structure belongs), legitimacy, and historiography. What is trying to be created through the flag in a destructed zone is actually one of the outputs of the *magnetic power of rubble* mentioned by Gordillo (2014, p. 37). Invading space of destruction with symbols like flags and other nationalist references is an attempt to "attract the living is often generated by more mundane interests and appropriations" (2014, p. 37). Gordillo goes on to say that the debris constitutes a part of the universal commons: "All over the world, ruins are sources of construction materials, for they usually become matter that is abandoned, has no owner, and is part of the commons" (2014, pp. 37-8). What is meant to be done here with the flag is the appropriation of destruction that has become commons and has been stripped of its belonging.

One of the effective images that demonstrates the representational capacity of monuments mentioned at length above is the *Armenian Catholic Church (figure-50)*, owned by the General Directorate of Foundations. The church is located on Muallâk Street in Hasırlı (Hançepek) Quarter, southeast of Sur. It is estimated that the church was built in the 18th or early 19th century (Hewsen, 2006, p. 69). The church, also known as Surp Hosep (Hoca Hosev), was restored by the Regional Directorate of Foundations in 2008-2009 and opened for use outside its function (carpet weaving course, copper processing course) (Işık & Halifeoğlu, 2017, p. 295; Dağtekin & Halifeoğlu, 2019, p. 139).

In the early 16th century, Diyarbakır (then called Amid/Amida), which came under the Ottoman Empire's rule, covered a large area and a linguistically, racially, and religiously complex population (Hewsen, 2006, p. 65; Hovannisian, 2006, p. 3). According to Hovannisian, "the Christian population gradually became a minority after successive raids by Muslim Arabs and Kurds from the south and then by Turkish

tribes from the west" (2006, p. 3). According to him, it is possible to speak of an "Ottoman Armenian Question" in Diyarbakır starting from this period and continuing until the "physical culling of the Armenian population" in 1915 (2006, p. 7). In the early 20th century, it is known that there was a large Armenian population in Sur. According to Şanlı:

> According to the information provided by travelers and researchers, at the beginning of the 20th century, almost half of the population of the city, which was largely composed of Suriçi, consisted of non-Muslim communities. Mostly Armenians, but also Assyrians, Chaldeans, Yezidis, Catholics, Protestants, and Greeks made up the non-Muslim communities living in the city. ...Jews, like other religious minorities, had been living together with the local population, Muslims, in Diyarbakır for centuries. (2018, p. 229).

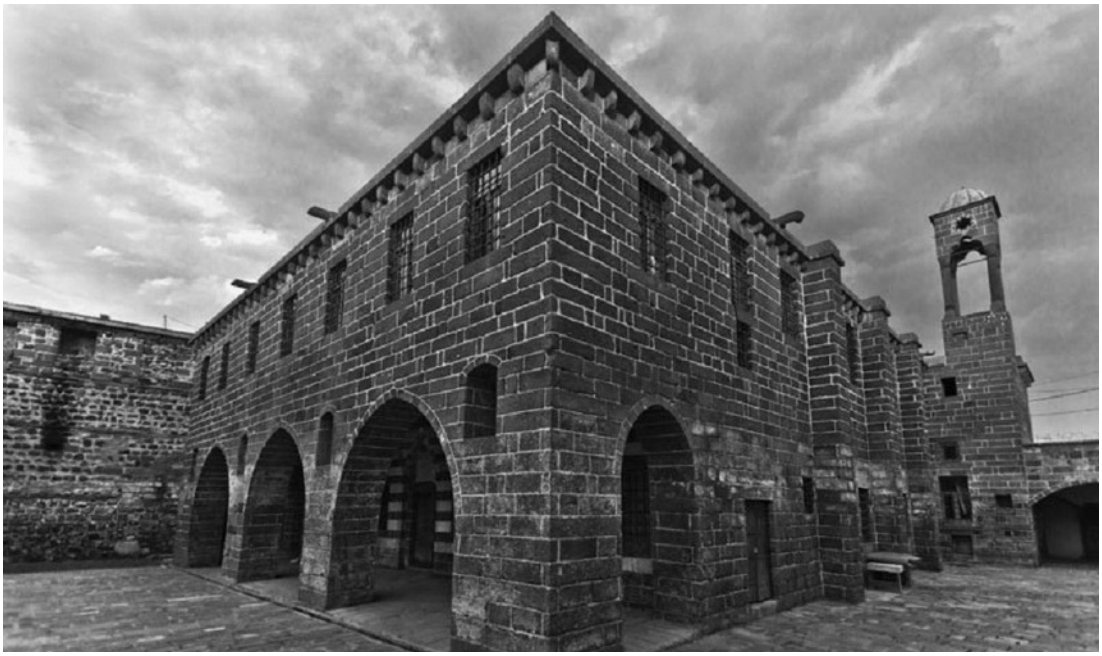


Figure 50: Ali Agih's 2014 depiction of the Armenian Catholic Church © Ali Aşılı
Source: http://wowturkey.com/t.php?p=/tr642/Kurtulus21_8067994398_762ce9f93e_c.jpg

Access Date: 31 July 2021

In the yearbooks prepared by the local administrations in 1870, the population of Diyarbakır city center was 21,372, and 53% (11,278) of the total population belonged to religious and ethnic groups such as Armenians (Gregorian and Catholic), Assyrians, Greeks, Jews, and Chaldeans, who were categorized as non-Muslims (Şimşek, 2018b, p. 54). In his book on Assyrians, Şimşek, citing Ali Emiri Efendi, provides the following information about the non-Muslim population in Diyarbakır in 1911: "Of the total population of 619,825, 123,264 were Christians, 492,101 were Muslims, 2,375 were Yazidis, and 2,085 were Jews" (2018a, p. 148). According to Vital Cuinet's incomplete data compiled in 1880, the total population was 471,462, including

328,644 Muslims; 6,000 Yezidi-Kılbaş; 3,000 Gypsies; 1,269 Jews; 79,129 Armenians; 9,440 Greeks; and 43,980 other Christian groups[129]. One of the participants, Mıgırdiç, an Armenian, describes their own history in Sur as follows:

> At the beginning of the 1900s, let me put it this way, the population of Diyarbakır at the beginning of the 1900s was as follows, and I am saying this according to the state survey records: The population in Diyarbakır was 60% Christian and 40% Muslim. The beginning of the 1900s. Therefore, 97% of that 60% were Armenians. Therefore, there was a very dense Armenian population and as Armenians, we have always said that Diyarbakır was an Armenian city[130].
>
> Code: ● HETEROGENEITY
>
> Interview with Mıgırdiç

However, these groups have almost lost their minority status in the region due to forced migration and dispossession. During World War I, the "resettlement by fire policy," which was one of the plans to control and manage the population throughout the country, was intensively implemented, especially on the Armenian population. One of these great fires (*harik-i kebir*) took place on August 18, 1914. These fires, which Zeliha Etöz and Taylan Esin describe as "the complementary element of genocide," left great traces, especially in big cities, and caused the loss of a nation's cultural assets. As a result of the fire that broke out in Diyarbakır in 1914 at the Buğday Pazarı (Wheat Market), in Beysanoğlu's words, "[e]verything could not be salvaged from the site of the fire, where the largest stores, inns, and workplaces were located" (1999, p. 69). Unlike other fires of the period, the perpetrators of the great fire in Diyarbakır were investigated and reported by the *Vilayet-i Dahiliye Nezareti (General Directorate of Provincial Administration)*. One of the remarkable claims of the report was the questioning of the deliberate involvement of state officials in the fire. Another claim is that the fire resulted in the confiscation (looting) of the assets (*emval-i metruke*) of

---

[129] The data here provides information on the city center and the region. Therefore, it differs in scale. The reason for the discrepancy between the data is this difference in scale.

[130] Original text: "1900'lerin başında şöyle söyleyeyim, 1900'lülerin başındaki Diyarbakır nüfusu şöyle, bunu devlet tahrir kayıtlarına göre söylüyorum: Diyarbakır'daki nüfus %60 Hristiyan %40 Müslümandı. 1900'lerin başı. Dolayısıyla o %60'ın %97'si Ermeni'ydi. Dolayısıyla çok yoğun Ermenilerin yaşadığı ve biz Ermeniler olarak söylediğimiz, Diyarbakır bir Ermeni kenti diye söyleyegeliyoruz."

Christian and Armenian citizens[131]. A more violent all-out version of this policy came with 1915. Mıgırdiç, also one of the participants, expressed the impact of this widespread violence that continues to this day as follows:

> In the early 1900s, when there was such a dense Armenian population, unfortunately, when the Armenian genocide, the Armenian Genocide of 1915, which we all know, took place, they all left; they killed them all. Here Çerkez Reşid, the governor of Diyarbakır at the time, unfortunately killed them all. Because Diyarbakır is one of the places where the most people died, where the most massacres were committed during the genocide. But after the genocide, families from different provinces, different circles, different districts, and centers of Diyarbakır, who were afraid, somehow threw themselves into the center of Diyarbakır, and when we look at the years when the republic was founded, some 400 450 families, again Armenian families, could become Diyarbakır residents[132].
>
> Code: ● HETEROGENEITY
> Interview with Mıgırdiç

So much so that he mentions a neighborhood in Sur dedicated to non-Muslims, especially Armenians: Gavur Mahallesi. As the Persian term *gavur* means non-Muslim, the Gavur district, now known as Hasırlı, got its name because of the large number of non-Muslims who lived there.

Although sources on Diyarbakır mention the existence of 22 churches, only eight churches have survived to the present day (Işık & Halifeoğlu Hillez, 2017, p. 293). Five of these eight buildings were severely damaged in the period after December 2015. The Armenian Catholic Church remained in ruins for a long period of time, but after it was restored in 2008-2009, it preserved its cultural and monumental value. As a result of the use of heavy weapons and destruction during the war, the Armenian

---

[131] "In the telegram dated August 21, 1330 [September 3, 1914] sent from the Internal Affairs to Diyarbakır Province 'the night watchmen in the grain bazaar where the fire was occurring did not fulfill their duties, and the fire was extended due to the failure of the night watchmen to fulfill their duties, and although Muslims were given facilities to save their property, Christian store owners were not allowed to do so, and the police commissioner Mr. Memduh especially prevented Armenians from securing their property, and Kurds and Muslims were allowed to loot Armenian stores, and that the soldiers of the regular army also participated in this, but were not prevented by their officers; therefore, it was reported that during the time of the occurrence and continuation of the harassment, whether the reported events took place or not...' is requested" (Etöz, 2013, p. 265).

[132] Original text: "1900'lerin başında bu kadar yoğun Ermeni popülasyonu varken maalesef işte Ermeni soykırımı, hepimizin bildiği 1915 Ermeni Soykırımı yapılınca hepsi gitti, hepsini öldürüyorlar. Burada o zaman Diyarbakır valisi Çerkez Reşid hepsini öldürüyor maalesef. Çünkü en çok insanın öldüğü, soykırımda en çok katliamın yapıldığı yerlerin başında geliyor Diyarbakır. Ama soykırımdan sonra da değişik illerden, değişik çevrelerden, Diyarbakır çevrelerinden değişik ilçe ve merkezlerinden korkan aileler kendilerini bir şekilde Diyarbakır merkeze atıyorlar ve cumhuriyetin kurulduğu yıllara baktığımızda bir 400 450 aile, yine Ermeni aile olabiliyor Diyarbakırlı olabiliyor."

Catholic Church was significantly damaged along with the historical fabric of the street near it, and part of the church was demolished (*figure-52*). In March 2015, the building, which was used as a "Women's Employment Center," was also severely damaged in the pre-war period due to user errors and lack of maintenance. In Işık and Halifeoğlu Hillez's article on Diyarbakır Churches, the war-related damage to the Armenian Catholic Church during the conflict between December 2015 and March 2016 is mentioned as follows: "Most of the narthex, the bell tower, and the presbytery

Figure 51: Armenian Catholic Church After War
Source: Author's own Archive

of the Armenian Catholic Church were completely destroyed. Most of the upper cover has collapsed, and the bearing wall piers and columns have been damaged in different dimensions" (2017, p. 300).

Again, when the damage tables in Işık and Halifeoğlu Hillez's article compare the situation before and after December 2015, many damage records classified in the table increased after December 2015 and spread to other parts of the building (2017, p. 302-305).

> So, of course, after the 1920s, what we call Gavur Mahallesi is also associated with Armenians. That's why it's called Gavur Mahallesi. They are all there. There are

churches there. The area where Armenians lived. Therefore, over time, when the elements of extermination, termination, and oppression against Armenians in Turkey, as in the whole of Turkey, also happened in Diyarbakır, when we look at today's population, it came to a point where it is almost non-existent. There are dates, I mean, there are different dates. For example, in the 1942s, with the Wealth Tax, some people migrated from here. Again, a large part of them migrated during the events of September 6-7. But the date when the most migration took place was the 1974 Cyprus Landings. When the Cyprus Landings took place, Christian families, mainly Armenians, and Assyrians, and even Jews, lived at that time. There is great pressure. Because of that great pressure, all of those families migrated. And what happened in the 90s and 80s and 90s was 10, 15, 20 families. They all migrated due to that chaotic environment with the unsolved murders. So, there were only one or two families left after the 90s[133].

Code: ● HETEROGENEITY

Interview with Mıgırdiç

Other codes assigned to segment: The Destruction of Collective Memory > The Destruction of Monuments; MOMENTS

As the interviewee points out, such destructions are not coincidences; they are deliberate targeting that also shows the strategic and planned aspect of war. The concept of urbicide is the term used in the literature for these planned destructions. However, what is created/attempted to be created with the destruction should not be overlooked. In a way, the act of destruction is essentially an act of creating subjectivity. Monuments that mediate the commemoration of the dead/death in the present, in a sense, reveal themselves as a performative command of power. In the Althusserian sense, monuments and demolished monumental structures both "call" subjects. The interpellated subject encounters a new call in the ruined monument. The monument that constitutes it in social memory has been destroyed, and now the call is made in a different way. The power that interpellates through the destroyed monument seeks to construct a new subject together with the social memory that it tries to make forgotten. Of course, Judith Butler's (1997) commentary is important here: Her critique of Althusserian and Foucauldian subjectification processes will find its counterpart here:

---

[133] Original text: "Dolayısıyla tabii 1920'lerden sonra Gavur Mahallesi dediğimiz, aynı zamanda Ermeniler ile anılıyor. Gavur Mahallesi o yüzden deniyor. Hepsi orada. Orada kiliseler var. Ermenilerin yaşam alanının olduğu bölge. Dolayısıyla bu zamanla tekrar bütün Türkiye'de Ermenilere yönelik malum biraz yok etme, bitirme, baskı unsurları tüm Türkiye'de olduğu gibi Diyarbakır'da da olunca bugünün nüfusuna baktığımızda yok denecek kadar bir noktaya geliniyor. Tarihler var işte değişik tarihler var yani. Mesela 1942'lerde Varlık Vergisi ile birlikte bir miktar insan buradan göçüyor. Yine 6-7 Eylül olaylarında büyük bir kısmı göçüyor. Ama en çok göç olan, göçün olduğu tarih 1974 Kıbrıs Çıkarması. Kıbrıs Çıkarması olunca halktan Hristiyan ailelere, Ermeniler ağırlıklı olarak, ve Süryanilerin yaşadığı, hatta o zaman Yahudiler de yaşıyor. Büyük bir baskı oluşuyor. O büyük baskıdan dolayı o ailelerin de hepsi göçüyor. Ve 90'lara 80 90'lara geldiğimizde olan 10, 15 aile, 20 ailedir. O işte faili meçhul olayları ile birlikte o kaotik ortamdan kaynaklı hepsi göçmüş oldular. Yani bir iki aile kalmıştık 90'lardan sonra."

what happens if the subject does not return? Or what kind of subject construction takes place if he/she does not respond to the call when he/she returns? "Not even leaving the

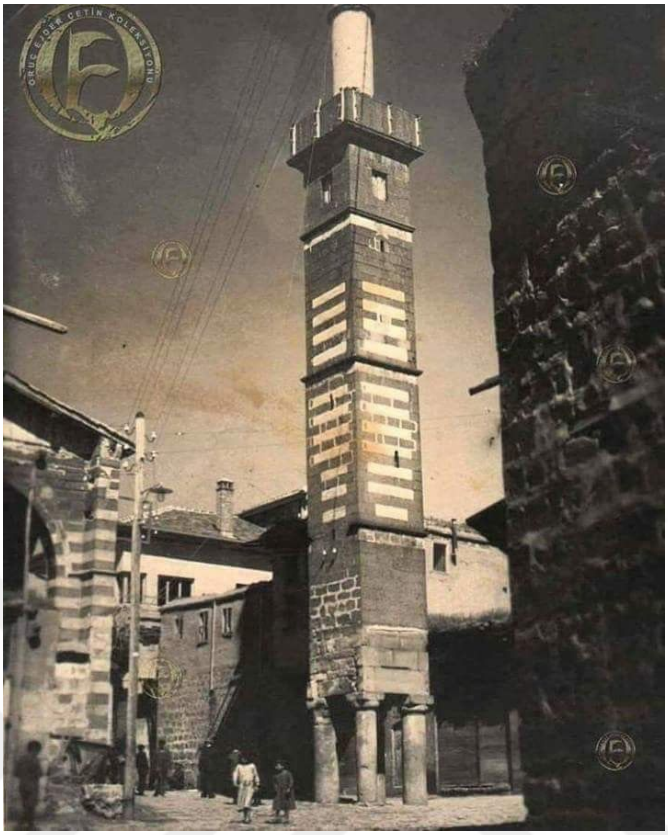


Figure 52: Four-Legged Minaret
Source: Oruç Ejder Çetin Special Collection (2015)

neighborhood of Armenians" means erasing the spatial memory of a people, trying to render it ahistorical, not leaving that people a living space where they can respond to the call.

Finally, we turn our attention to the Four-legged Minaret (*figure-53*), situated adjacent to the 16th-century Sheikh Mutahhar Mosque, a monument imbued with local symbolism, as it is perceived to represent four distinct sects within the community (Uğurlu et al., 2017). In this context, the minaret is perched atop four sturdy basalt columns, symbolically emblematic of communal coexistence despite inherent individual distinctions. In a scholarly inquiry dedicated to the morphological analysis of this distinctive minaret, Uğurlu, Günaslan, and Karaşin expound upon its architectural characteristics, asserting the following:

> Undoubtedly, the four independent slender pillars forming the lower part of the four-legged minaret and the rigid body with a square cross-section above them make the structure unique. Except for a few cracks that have developed over the years, no

> significant structural damage has occurred in a fragile historical structure with weak seismic resistance. (2017, p. 413).

Figure 53: Traces of Heavy Weaponry on the Four-Legged Minaret
Source: https://t24.com.tr/haber/tahir-elcinin-oldurulduugu-dort-ayakli-minare-civarinda-siddetli-catisma-yasaniyor,325390

Access Date: 06/05/2019

This monument, which has survived many disasters "with a few cracks," was one of the monuments targeted at the beginning of the war in 2015. On November 26, the monument was shelled with heavy weapons, leaving deep gouges in its supporting columns, and the minaret was severely damaged along with the Mutahhar Mosque, to which it is connected, during the intensification of the clashes (*figure-54*). In a written statement made by the Diyarbakır Branch of the Chamber of Civil Engineers in 2018 on the Four-Legged Minaret, the damage was described as follows: "In the conflict environment in Sur, bullets hit the legs of the historical minaret and serious damage was caused to all four legs. It was observed that the stones were broken and grooves were formed as a result of the breakage." (UCTEA, 2018, p. 27). The Althusserian interpellation mentioned above finds expression here in a different way. This time it is the monument itself that calls out. The question of how ideology calls individuals as subjects through representations of real conditions and imaginary relations can now be directed to monuments: What is the position of monuments in this ideological field, and how do they call subjects? Tahir Elçi's last speech contains the following statements about the call of the Minaret:

> We say this; the historical Four-legged Minaret is calling out to humanity. They shot me in the foot. It tells us that I have seen many wars and disasters, but I have never

> seen such betrayal. This historical structure is a one-of-a-kind work in Anatolia. There is no other example of this in the world. (Elçi, 2015).

In his explications concerning the nature of monuments, Lefebvre astutely acknowledges that, while monuments wield a unifying influence, they concurrently bear an oppressive dimension. This dichotomy is succinctly articulated in his work *Urban Revolution*, wherein he contends:

> Against the monument: The monument is essentially repressive. It is the seat of an institution (the church, the state, the university). Any space that is organized around the monument is colonized and oppressed. The great monuments have been raised to glorify conquerors and the powerful. Occasionally they glorify the dead or the beauty of death (the Taj Mahal) in palaces and tombs (2003, p. 21).

Figure 54: Turkish Flag on the Minaret
Source: https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/yasam/dort-ayakli-minareye-vatandas-ilgisi-/1081301

Access Date:09/08/2023

The present presence of the past, of individual and collective dramas and poorly articulated possibilities, acquires a symbolic meaning through the appropriation of space, and this symbolic meaning is entirely concentrated on the monument. Due to the dual nature of monuments, the difference between what is intended to be created and what is appropriated in everyday life will continue to exist, but which one prevails will vary according to political struggles and the strategies of the powerful. For James Osborne, this is the great irony of monuments. For Osborne, monuments are essentially physical entities that always challenge collective memory. For him, monuments "render the memories of their creators vulnerable and contestable, despite their

powerful appearance and permanence" (2017, p. 163). According to Osborne, this situation, which is referred to in the literature as "counter-monumentality," can occur in three different ways: a) through the construction of a new monument; b) through existing monuments with the creative artistic power of unremembering; c) through the performative agency (2017, p. 167).

In the dialogic structure of monuments, where past and future are violently confronted, and in the performative daily practices of city dwellers, the monument acquires different meanings, and this can be seen in the example of the Four-Legged Minaret. It is a cultural structure whose reception by pedestrians, city dwellers, tourists, tradesmen, and many other groups is differentiated within itself in daily activities. The reopening of the Kurşunlu Mosque for worship is similar to the reopening of the Four-legged Minaret in 2018. As with the Kurşunlu Mosque, the flag is the most striking symbol of identity and belonging. However, another memorable image is the image of the monument surrounded by blue stripes in Tahir Elçi's statement in 2015. The heavy damage to the monument after the clashes that started in 2015 has become one of the most important symbols that reminds the residents of the city of the conflict period. With this feature, the monument displays its ambivalent role as discussed above: On the one hand, it is a tool through which the powerful speaks; on the other hand, it is a part of the social memory shaped in everyday life.

5.2.3. Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War

The utilization of optical and contemporary technological innovations in the context of warfare has engendered a dual consequence: the potential for power to be wielded in a manner that is prone to abuse and the concurrent dehumanization of the parties embroiled in the conflict. Within the purview of this section, the initial discussion will revolve around the premise that the peace process, often accompanied by a ceasefire, serves as a preliminary phase in the run-up to a war that remains latent but impending. Subsequently, the narratives under scrutiny will delve into the deployment of heavy weaponry, a pivotal metric in gauging the extent of war-induced devastation, constituting one of the central facets of urbicide. Beyond the usage of heavy armaments, this section will further scrutinize the gendered dimensions of warfare, drawing from the perspectives articulated by participants.

5.2.3.1. Peace as Exception, Disoriented War, and the Citizens of Necropolis

A comprehensive examination of the so-called "resolution process" offers a pivotal vantage point for discerning how the façade of peace was strategically utilized as a prelude to conflict. The government's commitment to address Kurdish demands, notably encapsulated in the *democratic initiative* of 2009 as part of a broader strategy to resolve the Kurdish conflict, marked an initial pledge (Güneş, 2012; Kirişçi, 2011). This initiative outlined objectives such as the restoration of traditional place names for municipalities, the relaxation of restrictions on the usage of the Kurdish language, the expansion of citizenship rights, and the fortification of municipal administrations (Kaymaz, 2010). However, disillusionment stemming from mounting nationalism eventually led to the termination of the project to accommodate other priorities.

In the latter months of 2012, the National Intelligence Organization (NIO) initiated discussions hosted in İmralı. Subsequently, in 2013, parliamentarians affiliated with the Kurdish political movement were also invited to participate in these İmralı discussions. *The Wise People Project* was later incorporated into this evolving plan, marking a post-2013 development. The process, in which both parties ostensibly made certain concessions and achieved specific gains, persisted until June 2015 (Demirdağ, 2014, pp. 10-11). The violent and bloody denouement of this process on June 5, merely days before the elections, transpired at Diyarbakır's Station Square, offering a prelude to the subsequent events in Sur. From the perspective of the city's inhabitants, the initial indications of the stillbirth of the peace process manifested long before its formal termination in Sur. According to their narratives, the peace process, ultimately derailed by mutual mistrust, had, in reality, functioned as a preparatory phase for conflict, strategically employed by the belligerent parties.

> You know, in reality, the war didn't end. There is no peace. Before 2015, they named the negotiations as "Peace Process." But we know that both sides prepared for war in this period. One party built kalekols [well-equipped police stations for rural areas for armed conflicts], and the other side-built ditches. This is not peace. This is a prewar period[134].
>
> Code: ● The Use of Heavy Weaponry > The Technology of Death Used in Sur; Interview with Ali

[134] Original text: "Biliyorsunuz, gerçekte savaş bitmedi. Barış diye bir şey yok. 2015'ten önce müzakereleri 'Barış Süreci' olarak adlandırdılar. Ama bu dönemde her iki tarafın da savaşa hazırlandığını biliyoruz. Bir taraf kalekollar [silahlı çatışmalar için kırsal alanlar için iyi donanımlı karakollar] inşa etti, diğer taraf hendekler inşa etti. Bu barış değil. Bu bir savaş öncesi dönemdir."

Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > War Description

In this vein, the concept of peace can be perceived as a temporal interlude within the continuum of conflict or alternatively, as a preliminary stage preceding constitutive violence. Walter Benjamin, in his contemplations, offers the following elucidation:

> Indeed, the word "peace," in the sense in which it is the correlative to the word "war" (for there is also a quite different meaning, similarly unmetaphorical and political, the one used by Kant in talking of "Eternal Peace"), denotes this a priori, necessary sanctioning, regardless of all other legal conditions, of every victory. This sanction consists precisely in recognizing the new conditions as a new "law," quite regardless of whether they need de facto any guarantee of their continuation (1996, p. 240).

As Kardeş (2019) contends, peace is a phenomenon that operates as an anomaly within the broader scope of human interactions. In his analysis, peace is construed as a protracted process of restoration, frequently predicated upon the outcome of a conflict rather than stemming from the intrinsic benevolence of a state (2019, p. 22). Seher, one of the study participants, articulates the transformation of this process, characterized by its initial tranquility, into a stage of such extreme violence that it becomes an almost ineffable subject of discourse:

> No one could have imagined that it could be this much. The point that a country with the third largest army in the world, in NATO, could treat so many civilians in this way, or that this could happen was not a situation that could be predicted. It is beyond imagination. I mean, I have difficulty even talking about that process now[135].
>
> Code: ● IMP > RED
>
> Interview with Seher
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Use of Heavy Weaponry > The Technology of Death Used in Sur; Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > War Description

Before moving on to the characteristics of the military ammunition used, it is necessary to grasp the political reality of what is happening in Sur beyond a metaphorical state of war and peace. In Schmitt's *Plastic Age*, wars have turned into budget-friendly and zero-loss violence that is alien to the Earth. In the age of drones and remote-controlled ground vehicles, the abuse of power is only possible through the reduction of the Other to bare life. What is necessary for this is extra-legal wars on the ground where the state of emergency has become normalized. It is a war based on a definition of the enemy as *hostis* rather than *inicimus*, which is constantly reconstituted in the moment of war

[135] Original text: "Bu kadar olabileceğini hiç kimse tahmin etmiyordu. Dünyanın, NATO'nun en büyük 3. ordusuna sahip olan bir ülkenin, bu kadar sivile, bu şekilde davranabileceği ya da bunların olabileceği noktası tahmin yapılacak bir durum değildi. Tahayyülün dışında. Yani hani ben şimdi konuşurken bile zorlanıyorum o süreçle ilgili."

(2019, p. 12). Disoriented wars, in this sense, refer to a state of being on the edge where violence becomes unlimited and unpredictable. Kardeş explains that these states of violence, which flourish under the shadow of a privatized securitarian ideology, cannot be understood in classical legal terms, referring to Schmitt's conceptualization of the "criminalization of war" (2019, p. 175). Upon examining the participants' perspectives on the post-2015 era, it becomes evident that the notions of war and peace have grown more unclear in the context of hybridized identities.

> It does not necessarily have to be a nation state. It doesn't have to be a nation state. At least between groups with a slightly better balance of power. When I think of war, maybe it is wrong, but there is no such thing here, after all. Here are UCAVs, UAVs. Or fighter jets, tanks, artillery. When we think about all these, there is not much balance. An environment of conflict, I mean, I don't know if there is such a thing as war, the concept of war, and at the same time, for example, calling it war rather than conflict. I mean, do you think it has such a symbolic meaning? I mean, when we say war, do I really put the Other in a human position[136]?
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > War Description
> Interview with Mem

In contexts characterized by such extreme states of violence, the demarcation between civilian and militant identities becomes increasingly indistinct, leading to the collateral elimination of not only human beings but also other living organisms and the erasure of social memory. In this regard, warfare transmutes into a condition of violence that extends its purview to encompass non-human animals. Drawing from Haraway's (2008) extension of biopolitics to encompass creatures beyond the human realm, it becomes imperative to scrutinize the intricate web of violence that interconnects Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicles (UCAVs), stray animals, human actors, and the urban spaces during times of war. The conflict in Sur has had profound ramifications for non-human animals as well. Kulilk, who endured an extended stay within Sur, offers an account detailing the harm inflicted upon animals during the military operations:

---

[136] Original text: "Ulus devlet olmak zorunda değil illa. Ulus devlet olmak zorunda değil. En azından güç dengeleri biraz daha şey olan gruplar arasında. Savaş düşündüğümde belki yanlış bir şey ama şimdi burada böyle bir şey yok yani sonuçta. İşte SİHAlar, İHAlar. Ya da bilmem ne savaş uçakları, tanklar, toplar. Bütün bunları düşündüğümüzde çok da öyle denge yok. Bir çatışma ortamı, yani savaşın, savaş kavramının aynı zamanda mesela çatışmadansa savaş demenin böyle bir şeyi var mı bilmiyorum. Yani ben böyle bir sembolik anlamı var mı? Yani savaş dediğimizde gerçekten Öteki'ni bir insan pozisyonuna getirir miyim?"

> Even the animals were in very dire condition. Five out of ten cats in Sur had no tail, no legs. They had an eye out. The animals were in very desperate condition. Even the animals were badly damaged[137].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Civilian and Militant
> Interview with Kulilk

The distinction between civilians and militants/combatants goes hand in hand with dehumanization and demonization processes. Especially with the development of cyber tools and artificial intelligence, the dehumanized attack area is dehumanized by determining the target by satellite and cyber technologies in cases where the forces in the war are unevenly distributed. Therefore, being a party to the war or not is not a decisive criterion for becoming a target. Drones or remotely controlled militaries minimize moral and conscientious responsibility. The authority to kill or not to kill, delegated to a computer or a machine, points to the scope of the new unlimited wars (Heintschel von Heinegg et. al., 2018, p. 7).

> An effort to criminalize civilians and show them to the public as members of the organization. In other words, it is an effort to criminalize the militants of the organization and show them as if they are not human beings[138].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Civilian and Militant
> Interview with Umut

Dehumanization, when coupled with the state of exception, can effectively thrive within the socio-political milieu. In alignment with Benjamin's perspective, Agamben diverges from Schmitt, who endeavors to assimilate violence within the confines of law, seeking to regulate and delimit it through legal frameworks in every conceivable circumstance. Violence that operates outside the boundaries of the law, and in some instances even contributes to its formulation, serves as the quintessence of a state of exception. The de facto declaration of a state of emergency within Diyarbakır Sur has permeated all aspects of social existence. The primary instruments employed to effectuate this transformation were the isolation of Sur itself and the construction of police stations, symbolic embodiments of the State of Emergency. For instance,

> I mean, they didn't allow them much, but from time to time, for example, they would, let's say there were a lot of points. For example, they would check the identity of

---

[137] Original text: "Hayvanlar bile çok kötü durumdaydı. Sur'da on kediden beşinin kuyruğu yoktu, bacağı yoktu. Gözü çıkmıştı. Çok kötü durumdaydı hayvanlar. Onlara bile büyük zararı olmuştu."
[138] Original text: "Sivilleri kriminalize edip örgüt üyesi olarak millete gösterme çabası. Yani örgüt militanlarını da böyle kriminalize edip onlar insan değilmiş gibi gösterme çabası."

> anyone who they guessed was not from here, or who they guessed was from outside, or who they guessed was political[139].
>
> Code: ● The Technology of Death Used in Sur > X-rays, Criminal Record Check
> Interview with Serdarin

My interviewees assert that the prevailing government, during the state of emergency, has effectively placed the rule of law in abeyance. The assertion that "it does not even abide by its own laws" serves as a manifestation of the state of exception that has been engendered.

> In other words, I read the conflicts in this process as follows: the government does not obey the laws, not even the laws it has made. There, if you remember, at that time there was a discussion about building a palace and they were not doing anything. I mean, on the one hand, the president was supposed to be impartial according to the laws at the time. But he was not impartial in any way and the palace had no legal basis. But it was being built despite that. After the Council of State, it was passed by deception. So the Kurds' objection during this period was this: You don't even obey the laws you made yourself. You don't even obey the laws you make as you want. Why should I obey these laws? It was very clear! But Kurds are used to this. Because they know that when the state of emergency comes, there is no law[140].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The State of Emergency and Exception
> Interview with Mem
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP > RED

The concept of exception serves as a form of representation in and of itself. It becomes apparent that police stations, checkpoints, the conspicuous deployment of uniforms and flags, the pervasive presence of military vehicles, and the resonance of explosions collectively constitute a representational apparatus within this context. As Virilio contends:

> Since the battlefield has always been a field of perception, the war machine appears to the military commander as an instrument of representation, comparable to the painter's palette and brush. […] Similarly, the pilot's hand automatically trips the camera shutter with the same gesture that releases his weapon. For men at war, the function if the weapon is the function of the eye (1989, p. 20).

---

[139] Original text: "Yani çok müsaade etmiyorlardı ama zaman zaman mesela şey yapıyorlar bir sürü nokta vardı diyelim ki. Mesela buralı olmadıklarını veya dışarıdan geldiklerini tahmin ettikleri veya politik olduklarını tahmin ettikleri herkesi bir kimlik kontrolünden geçiriyorlardı."

[140] Original text: "Yani bu süreçteki çatışmaları ben şöyle okuyorum: Hükümet yasalara uymuyor, kendi yaptığı yasalara bile uymuyor. Orada hatırlarsanız o dönemde bir saray yapılması tartışması vardı ve hiçbir şey yapmıyorlardı. Yani bir taraftan o zamanki yasalara göre cumhurbaşkanının tarafsız olması gerekiyordu. Ama hiçbir şekilde tarafsız değildi ve sarayın hiçbir yasal dayanağı yoktu. Ama buna rağmen inşa ediliyordu. Danıştay'dan sonra hileyle geçti. Yani Kürtlerin bu dönemdeki itirazı şuydu: Siz kendi yaptığınız yasalara bile uymuyorsunuz. Kendi istediğiniz gibi yaptığınız yasalara bile uymuyorsunuz. Ben bu yasalara niye uyayım? Bu çok açıktı! Ama Kürtler buna alışıktır. Çünkü bilirler ki OHAL geldiği zaman hukuk yoktur."

The portrayal outlined above elicited an aversion to further discussion from two of my interviewees, reaching a point where they "did not want to talk about [it] anymore." The cessation of these interviews posed considerable challenges for me as a researcher. The profound emotional reactions elicited by the interviewees' narratives, coupled with the undeniable reality that these experiences transcended the boundaries of my own imagination, resulted in numerous disruptions and, at times, the termination of the interviews. One interviewee encapsulates this scenario in the following manner:

> Of course, there were those ruins. There were still positions at the bottom of the walls. The police were waiting in them. You know, that image of war was still going on. Even that was a frightening picture[141].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The State of Emergency and Exception
> Interview with Aze

This disconcerting tableau aligns with the *non-localization of the state of human existence*. To borrow from Aquilina's phrasing:

> In 'whatever being' we see, therefore, a more accurate (non-)localization of the condition of the human thing – and its ontological topography – than that afforded by the homo sacer. […] There is no tragedy here, for there is neither identification nor identity; only the disaster of the unidentifiable. This is what the tragic *homo sacer* is incapable of, for it is immersed only in the polis, but not the human thing, the citizen of the necropolis (2023, pp. 146-147).

In the subsequent segments of this chapter, in tandem with the examination of the utilization of heavy weaponry, an exploration shall ensue concerning the resurgence of necropower's sovereignty over death. This phenomenon, denoted as necroresistance, shall be scrutinized in detail.

5.2.3.1. The Use of Heavy Weaponry

The narratives on the use of heavy weapons, which are present in the reports of various civil society and professional organizations cited in the thesis, are a topic that the interviewees also emphasized. As can be seen in the narratives of the interviewees below, military vehicles used in rural operations, military ammunition prohibited by international conventions, and special operations teams are some of the tools used in

---

[141] Original text: "Tabii hani o kalıntılar vardı. Hala işte surların diplerinde mevziler falan vardı. Polisler onların içerisinde bekliyordu. Yani hani o savaş görüntüsü hala devam ediyordu. O bile insanı ürküten bir tabloydu."

this urban warfare. Although information on military ammunition related to the operations conducted has not been shared with the public, both the images reflected in the press and not denied by state officials and the testimonies of the interviewees point to the use of heavy weapons in the Sur settlement in the post-2015 period. The narration of this pure form of violence in the heart of the city, in the living space of civilians, shows how the disoriented war is experienced by the residents of Sur. Of course, talking about the heavy weapons used by the state alone here means seeing the issue from a very narrow perspective. There are some allegations about the use of heavy weapons by the KWP in the interviews. As will be seen below, there are no documents or statements by the parties that have been made public. However, the 103 days of conflict demonstrate the fact that it could not have been conducted without the use of heavy weapons on both sides.

In the ensuing subsections of this section, the initial focus shall pivot towards an analysis of the extent of violence and the resultant suffering engendered by the deployment of military ordnance and vehicles, drawing from the experiential accounts provided by the interviewees. Subsequently, an examination will ensue, delving into the gendered dimensions of warfare, elucidated through both the narratives shared by the interviewees and my own ethnographic field notes.

5.2.3.1.1. The Technology of Death Used in Sur

Throughout the course of my fieldwork, a salient observation emerged: despite the passage of four years since the culmination of the intense clashes that transpired in the final quarter of 2015, the majority of public spaces encircling the vicinity where Sur was cordoned off with concrete barriers or metal barricades continue to bear conspicuous vestiges in the form of bullet marks and external debris accumulation (*figure-56*). Some of these physical manifestations of destruction were subjected to targeted assaults during the conflict, while others fell victim to post-conflict demolition endeavors.

Within the subcategories encompassed by this thematic domain, as elucidated in MAXqda and grounded in the empirical data, three principal groupings emerged: (1) *Bulldozers, Tanks, and Tracks*; (2) *Drones and Aerial Vehicles*; and (3) *X-rays and*

Criminal Record Checks. Furthermore, a bifurcation was made to distinguish between land-based and aerial vehicles. While an official catalogue of military munitions and vehicles employed during that period remains elusive, the primary instruments and technologies utilized can be classified into several overarching categories, including aerial and terrestrial vehicles, earmarked for demolition; logistical vehicles, designated

Figure 55: Traces of Bullets
Source: Author's own Archive

for the transportation of rubble; and diverse methodologies and materials leveraged for the purposes of siege and obstructing repatriation. In this context, the assessment of the extent of violence inflicted upon civilian life shall be incorporated into this section as one of the repercussions stemming from the utilization of such formidable weaponry.

Virilio's conceptualization of the *automatic of perception* elucidates the *raison d'être* behind aircraft deployment in the context of Sur. By accentuating the demarcation between human vision and electro-optical observation, the contemporary visual paradigm further accentuates the fine line between the actual and the potential, reducing this distinction to a nearly imperceptible level. In essence, Virilio posits that as visual technology progresses in a trajectory increasingly divorced from human

agency, the disparity between "seeing" (the actual) and "foreseeing" (the potential) has nearly evaporated (1989, p. 4). This phenomenon signifies a process of dehumanization within the framework of necropolitical analysis, wherein individuals are progressively relegated to mere coordinates on a map, subject to targeting by automated machinery, and potentially reduced to numerical abstractions. Concurrently, these advancements in optical technology engender a milieu wherein the boundaries between fiction and reality blur, fostering a state of interchangeability.

> There is no war, then, without representation, no sophisticated weaponry without psychological mystification. Weapons are tools not just of destruction but also of perception — that is to say, stimulants that make themselves felt through chemical, neurological processes in the sense organs and the central nervous system, affecting human reactions and even the perceptual identification and differentiation of objects. A well-known example is the Stuka or junker, the German dive-bomber of World War Two that swept down on its target with a piercing screech designed to terrorize and paralyse the enemy. It was completely successful in this aim until the forces on the ground eventually grew used to it (Virilio, 1989, p. 8).

Hence, within the purview of those possessing technological prowess, the apparatus of vision metamorphoses into an instrument for the construction of reality. The previously cited clip, captured during the period when access to Sur was restricted, aptly embodies this function as a vehicle for shaping perceptions of reality. It warrants emphasis that the portrayal of not only diminished human subjects but also historical landmarks and dwellings assumes significance in the context of illustrating the transformation of collective memory into cartographic coordinates signifying military targets. As underscored by one of the interviewees:

> Okay, let's say you don't care about people at all, you don't take them as human beings, because they have made mistakes in your eyes, that's fine. Again, I don't think it's right, but let's say that's what you thought. *But what did you want from those mosques and churches? Are they just pieces of stone?*[142]
>
> Code: ● The Use of Heavy Weaponry > The Technology of Death Used in Sur;
> Interview with Kulilk
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Destruction of Collective Memory > The Destruction of Monuments

[142] Original text: "Tamam, diyelim siz insanları hiç önemsemiyorsunuz, insan yerine koymuyorsunuz, çünkü onlar sizin nezdinizde hata yapmışlar, olur yani. Bence yine doğru değil ama diyelim öyle düşündünüz. Ama o camilerden kiliselerden ne istediniz? Onlar, sadece birer taş parçası mı?"

Preceding the commencement of demolition activities in Sur, security forces implemented a comprehensive blockade and sealed off the delineated area. This entailed the complete closure of ingress and egress points (as exemplified in *figure-44*) through the strategic placement of concrete and iron barricades, concomitant with the establishment of inspection checkpoints. Testimonies chronicling the experiences of this protracted siege are encapsulated as follows:

> For example, there are still places that are still closed. For example, there are still places that are not allowed to enter. I mean, there is still a significant closed area around the police. Many state buildings or not many state buildings, but mostly military security points were *closed with big barriers, very high barriers.* Yes, they were closed with concrete barriers. So the city never had the impression of a peacetime city[143].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The State of Emergency and Exception
> Interview with Mem

On one facet, a siege serves as a military stratagem, while concurrently, as an integral component of this stratagem, it operates as a linguistic barrier intended to preclude the leakage of confidential information from within.

> Sur was already closed, there was a curfew. Frankly speaking, we didn't have the chance to enter those areas. We couldn't see what was going on inside, but somehow *we could hear the voices and see the wounded being transported out*[144].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Misery in the Times of War
> Interview with Victor

Police checkpoints, originally established during the hostilities to control access in and out of the cordoned-off region, persisted in occupying physical spaces even after the cessation of the conflict. During the interviews conducted in 2019, it became apparent that numerous mobile police stations, constructed from shipping containers, were dispersed throughout various areas within Sur. Access points leading into the demolished sector of the city remained obstructed by a combination of concrete barriers and police roadblocks. Interviewees discerned that these mobile police

---

[143] Original text: "Mesela hala şey var, hala kapalı olan yerler var. Mesela hala girilmesine müsaade edilmeyen yerler var. Yani hala emniyetin çevresinde önemli bir şekilde kapalı bir alan vardır. Birçok işte devlet binası veya birçok devlet binası değil daha çok askeri güvenlik noktaları büyük bariyerlerle kapatılmıştır böyle çok yüksek bariyerler. Evet beton bariyerler ile kapatılmıştı. Yani kentte asla bir barış dönemi kenti izlenimi yoktu."

[144] Original text: "Sur'un içi zaten kapalıydı, sokağa çıkma yasağı vardı. O alanlarda girme şansımız yoktu işine açıkçası. Hani içerde ne yaşanıyor ne oluyor görmüyorduk. Ancak seslerden, dışarı nakledilen yaralılardan görüyorduk bir şekilde."

stations, introduced during the State of Emergency, were intentionally maintained as symbols of authority. In their perception, the State of Emergency was acclimatized into their daily existence through this presence. Additionally, interviewees contended that these police stations served as a tool wielded by political authorities to imprint the mantra of lawlessness upon the populace.

> There are still *traces* of them! Here are the police posts at the entrances of many cities. There was nothing like that during the peace process. But now we are talking about *a city surrounded by wire fences and police stations.* All entry and exit points. There are still traces of that. For example, in Sur, as far as I know, the curfew is still in effect in some areas[145].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The State of Emergency and Exception
> Interview with Aze
> Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The Extent of Violence against Civilian Life

The inspections conducted at the entry and exit points of Sur have engendered feelings of disquietude and apprehension among individuals as they traverse into their residences, communities, places of employment, and habitation areas. To illustrate,

> It happened on their way in and out. When the conflict first ended, it was not comfortable. People were afraid to enter. *The police were doing a serious control*, so that was going on[146].
>
> Code: ● The Technology of Death Used in Sur > X-rays, Criminal Record Check
> Interview with Victor
> Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The State of Emergency and Exception

Despite the siege, which commenced with the sealing of the ingress and egress points to the city, effectively obstructing the dissemination of internal information to the external realm, interviewees continued to provide testimonies concerning the utilization of heavy weaponry. As an exemplar, Ali's account of the deployment of heavy ordnance was not visual in nature but auditory:

---

[145] Original text: "Hala izleri var ki! İşte birçok kentin girişlerindeki polis noktaları. İşte barış sürecinde öyle bir şey yoktu. Ama şimdi tel örgülerle, karakollarla çevrilmiş bir kentten bahsediyoruz. Bütün giriş çıkış noktaları. İşte hala onun izleri devam ediyor. Mesela Sur'da hala bildiğim kadarıyla bazı bölgelerde sokağa çıkma yasağı hala daha devam ediyor."

[146] Original text: "Giriş çıkışlarında oluyordu. Çatışmanın ilk bittiği dönemde rahat değildi yani. İnsanlar ürkerek giriyordu. Polis ciddi bir kontrol yapıyordu yani o devam ediyordu."

> When we look at those vehicles, tanks, panzers, you already know what was being used and when the sounds came very clearly. In other words, when a heavy cannon or a heavy weapon was used, the echo, the tremor of it was already very revealing[147].
>
> Code: ● The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks
>
> Interview with Ali
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Ruptures in Everyday Life > Cannonry as Background Music; The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers

In addition to the auditory cues, there were isolated instances where bullets and explosives impacted structures beyond the confines of Sur. An illustrative case in point is the campus of Dicle University, situated directly opposite the eastern periphery of Sur. Anter, one of the eyewitnesses, recounted an incident involving a bomb striking the university premises amid the conflict. His perspective on the deployment of heavy weaponry during this period warrants specific attention:

> The first bomb had fallen on the university, so the buildings were affected. So in the end we saw cannons, tanks. I mean they had very big weapons. But heavy weapons were used to destroy buildings. In the end, a Kalashnikov, a G3 is *not enough to bring down a building*[148].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > The Use of Heavy Weaponry
>
> Interview with Anter
> Other codes assigned to segment: Rhythm and Syncope: The Temporal Dimension > The Ruptures in Everyday Life; The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers

As underscored by Anter, the magnitude of devastation within Sur is manifest in the deployment of formidable instruments such as tanks, explosive ordnance, armored vehicles, Unmanned Combat Aerial Vehicles (UCAVs), and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), rather than conventional weaponry. Given that the legal and military procedures during this era lacked transparency and transpired within a state of emergency, participants frequently found themselves compelled to deduce the cause (i.e., the utilization of military munitions) from the resultant effects (i.e., the extensive destruction).

The practices enacted under the banner of security during the state of emergency straddle a nuanced duality, encompassing a spectrum extending from a strategy of

---

[147] Original text: "Giren çıkan o araçlara, tanklara, panzerlere baktığımızda zaten ne kullanıldığı ve sesler çok bariz bir şekilde geldiğinde onu zaten biliyorsunuz. Yani ağır bir topun ya da ağır bir silah kullanıldığı zaman bunun yankısı, hissedilen sarsıntısı zaten onu çok açığa çıkarıyordu."
[148] Original text: "İlk bir bomba düşmüştü üniversiteye, yani binalar etkilenmişti. Yani sonuçta toplar, tanklar gördük. Yani çok büyük silahları vardı. Ama binaları yıkacak düzeyde ağır silahlar kullanıldı. Sonuçta bir keleş, bir G3 bir binayı yıkacak düzeyde değil."

deliberate urban devastation to meticulously orchestrated reconstruction initiatives. While substantial destruction did indeed transpire within the six neighborhoods of Sur following the cessation of hostilities, as discernible from Google Earth maps (*figure-32*), it is evident that the buildings at that time did not succumb entirely to obliteration. Many historical and monumental structures, despite sustaining severe damage, managed to preserve their inherent grandeur. Nonetheless, a process unfolded within Sur that definitively extinguished the prospects for restoration. According to accounts provided by interviewees, the debris resulting from the demolition activities was haphazardly collected and transported via bulldozers onto trucks without any form of sorting. In a parallel context, Graham (2004) illuminates the historical use of bulldozers as instruments of warfare by Israel since 1946, asserting that "bulldozing has been used as a weapon of collective and individual punishment and intimidation, and as a means of shaping the geopolitical configuration of territory" (p. 197). In Sur, a comparable process of bulldozing and demolition unfolded. Aze, one of the witnesses, aptly encapsulates the phenomenon of urbicide through bulldozing in the following manner:

> Of course, we experienced it too. Truck after truck moved in. They went in with *bulldozers.* What actually happened there was destruction. To cover up whatever happened there, to cover up the crimes or criminals, to demolish the houses that were not demolished. Therefore, there is a point where they cleaned it all up without leaving any evidence of what happened inside, what happened, how it happened, how the evidence was left, and then they went in with graders and bulldozers and cleaned it up and turned it into the flat area I mentioned before. They brutally threw people's belongings away without separating the rubble. I mean, probably nothing happened to the belongings, but if it did, we don't know how much. They even took away people's chance to see. I mean, it's a deplorable situation that they took them all to the areas like that and threw them away[149].
>
> Code: ● The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks
>
> Interview with Serdarin
> Other codes assigned to segment: Encountering with Corpse > Dealing with Dead Bodies; The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers

[149] Original text: "Tabii biz de deneyimledik. Kamyon kamyon taşındı. Buldozerlerle girdiler. Orada aslında yaşanan yok etmekti. Orada yaşanan neydi ise bir üstünü örtmek, suçlarının ya da suçluların neyse onun üzerini kapatmak, yıkılmayan evlerinin yıkmak. Dolayısıyla içinde ne olduğunu, ne bittiğini, nasıl oldu, deliller bırakılmadan hepsini temizlenip işte greyderlerle, buldozerlerle girip onları temizleyip işte biraz önce bahsettiğim düz alana çevrilmesi noktası var. Molozları hiç ayrıştırmadan insanların eşyalarını hunharca attılar. Yani eşyaya bir şey olmamıştır muhtemelen, yani olmuşsa da ne kadarını olmuş bilmiyoruz. İnsanların görme şansını bile elinden aldılar. Yani hepsine o şekilde alanlara götürüp onları atmaları içler acısı bir durum yani."

This process of debris transportation unfolded within the confines of an imposing state of emergency. The rubble was deposited on a barren tract of land situated immediately beneath the Faculty of Education at Dicle University, while the transportation route was subject to total closure, shrouding the procedure in a cloak of utmost secrecy.

> In fact, even *the route where the rubble was taken was blocked by security forces*. We could not see how it was being transported, the whole route was completely under lockdown. Even the companies transporting the rubble brought the trucks from outside the city. The trucks and equipment were brought from outside[150].
>
> Code: ● The Technology of Death Used in Sur > Bulldozers, Tanks, Tracks
> Interview with Anter
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Ruptures in Everyday Life > The Daily Parades of Bulldozers, Tracks, Tanks, Panzers

The fundamental right to a dignified burial, a right for which Antigone had risked her life centuries ago, remained unattainable for those who perished in this context, as will be revisited in the forthcoming section addressing *Funeral and Murder*. Not only was the debris purged of personal effects and monumental remnants, but human remains were also transported alongside the rubble to the vacant expanse in proximity to Dicle University. This handling of deceased bodies, emblematic of the tenets of necropolitics, will be subjected to examination in the ensuing section. Preceding this analysis, an evaluation of the conflict will be undertaken from a gender-oriented vantage point.

5.2.3.2. Gendered War

Throughout episodes of organized violence within the Suriçi settlement, women have occupied a multifaceted and paradoxical position within the warfare framework. They have assumed various identities, including combatants, mothers, daughters, and public servants, in which they concurrently functioned as both agents and casualties of the conflict. This research explores the intricate interplay between gender dynamics and armed conflict by drawing on interviews conducted with women in Suriçi during September 2019. In alignment with Laura Sjoberg's assertion (2014), which contends

[150] Original text: "Aslında molozların götürüldüğü güzergâh bile güvenlik güçleri ile birlikte kapatılmış bir durumdaydı. Biz nasıl taşındığını göremedik, bütün güzergâh kapalı durumdaydı. Hatta ve hatta molozları taşıyan firmalar, kamyonları bile şehir dışından getirdiler. Kamyonlar ve ekipmanlar dışarıdan getirilmişti."

that war and gender are inextricably intertwined, this study ought to be perceived as a continuation of the ongoing discourse concerning the gendered dimensions of warfare. In this vein, Alexievich elucidates women's divergent experiences with the following elucidation:

> 'Women's' stories are about different things. 'Women's' war has *its own colors, its own smells, its own lighting, and its own range of feelings*. Its own words. There are no heroes and incredible feats, there are simply people who are busy doing inhumanly human things. And it is not only they (people!) who suffer, but the earth, the birds, the trees. All that lives on earth and us. They suffer without words, which is still more frightening. (2017, p. xvi)

For the women residing in Sur, the array of distinct *colors, smells, lighting and feelings* elucidated by Alexievich is imbued with the inherent masculinity that characterizes the milieu of warfare. As articulated by Seher,

> I guess war comes with its *masculinity*. Women and children are always the most victimized victims of these wars. Of course, not only here, but especially women and children have suffered more[151].
>
> Code: ● War Description > Gendered War
> Interview with Seher

When considered in the context of wartime sexual violence, former UN Division Commander for Eastern DRC Patrick Cammaert's statement, 'It is perhaps more dangerous to be a woman than a soldier in an armed conflict[152],' resonates.

> Rape, as with all terror-warfare, is not exclusively an attack on the body - it is an *attack on the 'body-politic'*. Its goal is not to maim or kill one person but to control an entire socio-political process by crippling it. It is an attack directed equally against personal identity and cultural integrity (Nordstrom, 1991, p. 8)

Nordstrom's delineation of a *dirty war* is one that converges seamlessly with masculinity, representing a mode of intimidation and societal devastation within civilian existence (1991, p. 1). In this context, the female body metamorphoses into an *attack on the 'body-politic'* in wartime and a strategic instrument to manipulate the

---

[151] Original text: "Savaş sanırım erkekliği ile beraber geliyor. Her zaman her yerde kadın ve çocuklar bu savaşların en büyük mağduriyetini yaşayanlardır. Tabii ki burada sadece tabi özellikle kadınlar ve çocuklar daha fazla yaşadılar."

[152] See: https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Media/Publications/UNIFEM/EVAWkit_06_Factsheet_ConflictAndPostConflict_en.pdf

adversary. Within the confines of Sur, the manifestations of sexist attitudes, the proliferation of graffiti on the walls (as depicted in *figure-57*), and the perpetration of acts of violence upon women's bodies during the clashes collectively encapsulate a snapshot of the dirty war that unfolded in Diyarbakır post-2015.

> There are also such things as threats of rape or kidnapping. For example, the situation of the last survivors. I saw it on TV. In the footage, girls were *undressed and stripped in a very brutal way*[153].
>
> Code: ● War Description > Gendered War
> Interview with Mezra

"The concentrated and predominantly public nature of violence in war" emerges as a means of discipline and control, and also as a masculine attack on identity (Sideris, 2000, p. 41). Wartime sexual violence differs from rapes that take place in the everyday private domain in that it is an attack on the collective existence and identity of the adversary (Sideris, 2000, p. 41). From this perspective, an Islamist regime with a conservative and disciplinary policy on the female body uses it as a strategic tool to attack its opponent in the event of a conflict.

Figure 56: A sexist graffiti in Sur
Source: https://140journos.com/duvara-yazilanlar-9fef4c991829

Access Date: 08/08/2023

[153] Original text: "Tecavüzle tehdit edilip ya da onu kaçırtmak anlamında da bu tarz şeyler söz konusu. Mesela en son kalanların durumu. Televizyonda izlemiştim. Görüntülerde kız çocuklarının soyulması üstünün başının çıkarılması çok vahşice bir yöntemle yapılmış."

> I mean those things, for example, on the one hand, think about everything that is done about women, about the female body. Those who go around saying, 'They did something to my sisters in headscarves, they did this, they did that,' can also turn the *naked female body into a show material*[154].
>
> Code: ● War Description > Gendered War
>
> Interview with Zozan
>
> Other codes assigned to segment: Funeral and Murder: The Necropolitical Dimension > Cemeteries and Memorials; Encountering with Corpse > Dealing with Dead Bodies

The genesis of the thesis's research topic was largely informed by extensive discussions centering on the significance of womanhood within the context of wartime. During meetings where the initial iteration of the thesis was presented, gender emerged as a pivotal factor, subsequently shaping the design of interview questions in alignment with the insights garnered from pertinent literature. At the outset, we posited that being a woman amid the backdrop of conflict and violence would constitute an independent variable. It was anticipated that women residing in Sur, an environment marked by pronounced poverty and pervasive male dominance, would establish a qualitatively distinct rapport with the war and the surrounding milieu of violence compared to their male counterparts. This anticipation, rooted in the presumption that women's preoccupations with domestic responsibilities such as childcare, eldercare, and household chores would render them one of the most vulnerable groups within the urbanizing war, was substantiated through the empirical fieldwork. The ensuing sections will delve deeper into the nuanced dimensions of this phenomenon.

It is noteworthy that women exhibit a greater willingness to candidly share their experiences and engage in political discourse surrounding their ordeal. In stark contrast, male urban residents displayed reticence toward interview requests, often responding with phrases like "I wish to forget; I am unaware of the details," and occasionally redirecting inquiries to their female counterparts. Following the conclusion of the field research, discussions with colleagues who assisted in arranging the interviews revealed several factors contributing to this gendered pattern. It is pertinent to highlight that these factors find corroboration within the narratives of the interviewees themselves. First and foremost, it became evident that unemployed men

---

[154] Original text: "Yani o şeyler yani mesela düşünün bir yandan işte kadınla ilgili, kadın bedeni ile ilgili yapılan her bir şey. "Benim başörtülü bacılarıma şey yaptılar, şunu yaptılar, bunu yaptılar" diye ortalıkta dolaşanlar, çıplak kadın bedenini aynı zamanda gösteri malzemesi haline getirebiliyor."

who were actively seeking regular employment after the war refrained from participating in interviews due to security concerns. This reluctance stemmed from a fear of potential repercussions related to their testimonies.

Despite the intermediary partners' commendable efforts to establish a secure rapport, male interviewees consistently declined to participate due to security concerns. They often cited their ongoing job search as a reason for their initial reluctance or promptly redirected me to an acquaintance who was well-versed in the interview process upon learning of my intent to record their statements. In stark contrast, a significant majority of the women I interviewed found themselves in a position where they were responsible for caring for children of varying ages and numbers. This domestic commitment limited their opportunities for regular paid employment and consequently rendered them more amenable to granting interviews. The second noteworthy phenomenon, as elucidated by several interviewees, revolved around the observation that the task of recounting wartime experiences in Sur was predominantly undertaken by women.

The dynamics of women's relationship with the home, encompassing their engagement in unpaid housework, childcare, elderly care, and various productive activities like winter preparations, exhibit a depth and complexity distinct from that of men. This thesis finds further substantiation in the observation that women, even amidst conflict, are often reluctant to leave their homes, with a notable portion of the final civilian groups to evacuate being composed of women. Women frequently asserted that the socio-cultural bonds constraining them and the manifold responsibilities they shoulder preclude their active participation as political agents in the role of warriors. Consequently, the neighborhood, street, and house, serving as focal points of social memory and daily existence, assume a symbolic yet indispensable significance in the struggle of women from Sur. Kulilk articulates this sentiment as follows:

> Believe me, if I didn't have children, I swear you; *I would fight to protect my neighborhood, my presence as being a woman, my Kurdishness*. Nothing is more important than that. Only my children. Not my husband, not my family.[155]
>
> Code: ● The Use of Heavy Weaponry > The Technology of Death Used in Sur; Interview with Kulilk

Several interviewees did not anticipate the escalation of conflict and the extent of destruction it would bring about. Consequently, some women, along with a few men, actively sought employment opportunities beyond Sur, often outside the city. The de facto curfew enforced along with the state of emergency, coupled with the apprehension of losing their jobs or being unable to continue the job search if they remained in Sur, deterred many from re-entering the area. This scenario underscores the limited exposure of men to the war's realities. Notably, Kulilk's husband had to wait outside Sur for work during the conflict, while Kulilk herself sought refuge in the basement of their home with four children, including a newborn. Drawing a comparison between their respective experiences, she articulates the challenges she faced in contrast to her husband's situation:

> My husband waited for us behind the walls [behind Sur] for 90 days. Every day, he said, came to the gates and waited for us. Yes, this is hard. I understand. But think about me, what I experienced. *I had to play with my children while the state was bombing the neighborhood*. […] I had to tell tales, including the voices of the bombs, as something cute. […] Which one is hard, tell me! Like every time, he waited, and I struggled[156].
>
> Code: ● The Use of Heavy Weaponry > The Technology of Death Used in Sur; Interview with Kulilk

Moreover, the gender of the researcher, being a woman, played a role in men's reluctance to participate in interviews. It is worth noting that even when male interviewees were referred to female acquaintances with firsthand war experiences, reservations persisted. While efforts were made to address this challenge by involving a male research partner, some male participants remained reticent in sharing their narratives.

---

[155] Original text: "İnan olsun çocuklarım olmasaydı, size yemin olsun; mahlemi, kadın olarak varlığımı, Kürtlüğümü korumak için mücadele ederdim. Hiçbir şey bundan daha önemli değil. Sadece çocuklarım. Ne kocam, ne ailem."

[156] Original text: "Kocam bizi 90 gün boyunca surların arkasında [Sur'un arkasında] bekledi. Her gün kapılara gelip bizi beklediğini söyledi. Evet, bu çok zor. Biliyorum. Ama bir de beni düşünün, benim yaşadıklarımı. Devlet mahleyi bombalarken ben çocuklarımla oynamak zorunda kaldım. [...] Bombaların seslerini sevimli bir masalmış gibi anlatmak zorunda kaldım. [...] Hangisi zor, söyle bana! Her seferinde olduğu gibi o bekledi, ben çırpındım."

5.2.4. Funeral and Murder: The Necropolitical Dimension

'She writes poetry,' said one of them. 'The woman we know?' said the other. The woman they know... is a corpse like me. Submissive! No. No! Woman! But there was me, there is! So much so that they can't even tolerate my wounded, lifeless body! As a tailor, maybe I could catch their eyes. I did it because I was a tailor. But I never sewed a man's clothes. I only sewed dresses for myself with short skirts and open collars. Oh, I painted... 'They were nudes, mullah Efendi' 'What were they?' 'Nudes. They were naked people.' 'Oh my God! If it was a landscape, maybe. We would say that she painted what the Creator created, but this woman... she went to the extreme.' So be it. Then... I did acting. 'Maybe if she had gathered wives and daughters and told them tales...' No, I did theater. I went on stage. I shook my ass, I shook my head, I made my faith board public, I bounced my tits, I played Lorca. 'Bitchuuuuuuuuuuu!' 'This woman... this woman... she made a movie. And lepers. The ones we drive out of people because they're sick...' 'That's because she's sick too. In a way, the woman who did this is a leper in our eyes. Bitch.' She was born sick. Because she's creative. Right? 'This devil has learned the language of the giaour, and how many languages at the same time.' It took me eight months to learn Italian. 'She translated from those languages into our sacred Persian.' Shut up, mullah. If I were incapable as desired by the Mullahs who would say: 'Didn't I create you and them?'... they would want to bury me without question... But they would not bury a woman like me in the terra firma that is rightfully ours[157].

As cited in Ezgi Duman, 2020, p. 399.

This touching and rather long epigraph is an excerpt from the theater performance *Yaralarımım Aşktandır/ Füruğ Ferruhzad: Bir Kadının Hikâyesi* [My Wounds are from Love / Forugh Farrokhzad: A Woman's Story], directed by Berfin Zenderlioğlu,

---

[157] Original text: "Kadın şiir yazıyor' demiş içlerinden birisi. 'Bildiğimiz kadın mı?' demiş öteki. Onların bildiği kadın… benim gibi bir ceset çünkü. İtaatkâr! Yok. Yokkk kadın! Ama ben vardım, var! Şu yaralı, cansız bedenime bile tahammül edemeyecekleri kadar var! Terzi olarak belki gözlerine girebilirdim. Yaptım çünkü terzilik. Ama erkeğin söküğünü dikmedim hiç. Kendime eteği kısa… yakası açık elbiseler diktim bir tek. Aaaa resim yaptım… 'Onlar da nüüüü'ymüşşş molla efendi' 'Neymüşşşşşş neymüşşşşş?' 'Nü. Çırılçıplak insanlarmış.' 'Amanınnnnnn! Manzara olsa belki. Yaradanın yarattığını resmetmiş derdik ama bu kadın… onun da aşırısını yapmış' Öyle olsun. Sonra…Oyunculuk yaptım. 'Karıları kızları toplayıp onlara meddahlık etmiş olsa belki…' Yok ben tiyatro yaptım. Sahneye çıktım. Kıçımı başımı salladım. İman tahtamı kamuya açtım. Memelerimi hoplattım. Lorca oynadım. 'Orospuuuuuuu!' 'Bu kadın var ya bu kadın…film çekmiş. Hem de cüzzamlıları. Hasta diye insan içinden sürdüklerimizi…' 'O da hastalıklıdır da ondan. Cüzzamlıdır bir nevi bunu yapan kadın bizim gözümüzde. Kaltak.' O doğuştan hastalıklı. Çünkü yaratıcı. Değil mi? 'Gavurun dilini öğrenmiş bu şeytannnnnn' Üstelik kaç dilini birden. İtalyanca öğrenmem sekiz ay sürdü. 'O dillerden bizim mukaddes Farsçamıza çeviriler yapmış.' Sus be molla. Valla Allah'ın gücüne gidecek: 'Seni de onları da ben yaratmadım mı?' diyecek Mollaların arzu ettiği gibi aciz olsam… sorgusuz sualsiz bana gömmek isterler… Ama gömdürmezler benim gibi bir kadını hepimize hak olan şu kara toprağa."

scripted by Şebnem İşigüzel and brought to life with Nazan Kesal's acting. From the *terra firma* that the ruler shares, some are disregarded not only in life but also in death. The key word here is a submissive body: when one crosses the limit, that is, when one pushes the limit and goes to extremes like Farrokhzad, the body is brought to the earth, neither alive nor dead. In other words, in the face of the powerful, the dead, and the living of some do not deserve the earth, nor can they be mourned. In the encounter of the two consciousnesses, neither of them feared death, and one of them lost its life. But the victor declares his sovereignty over the corpse. Death becomes politicized.

Mbembe's point is that historically the sovereign authority has consistently asserted itself by violating the ban against killing. The sovereign, who establishes its necropower by killing, has to transform subjects into living deaths in order to maintain its power. Citizens of necropolis are the living dead of the power established through death. In this sphere of power, funerals are carried out by living corpses reduced to bare life. In this sense, the sword is now on Damienized bodies. In other words, the prerequisite of the subject is the sword; necropower uses the sword not for the continuation of its sovereignty but to establish it. Mbembe reportedly says on being a political subject as such: "One's very life is already punctured by the sword, where existence is not shielded by the blade but rather always already pierced by it through and through" (Aquilina, 2019, p. 10).

The statistics of deaths in Diyarbakır Sur as a result of the post-2015 clashes point to a necropolitical situation in which the destruction has made the city and its inhabitants the target of the war. The curfews imposed on December 2, along with the military operations, turned Sur into a closed space, severely limiting media access to the city. Apart from some social media posts, state media reports and footage of funerals (of civilians, soldiers and militants alike), no independent media outlets or monitoring organizations have been able to follow the process. One of the reliable sources of systematic recording of the above-mentioned data has been the Crisis Group's report and visual explainer. Curfews and military operations in Sur's easternmost neighborhoods lasted over 100 days and caused many deaths. This report claims that throughout this 100-day span, 60 security personnel were slain (Crisis Group, 2016, p. 6). According to state officials, just one civilian was killed in Sur, according to a study by Crisis Group published in March 2016. This report also said that 23,000 of Sur's 25,000 population had evacuated their settlements owing to military operations. The

report (2016) cites Kurdish political figures in stating that 240 militants and 26 civilians were killed. However, according to a graphic analysis of the Crisis Group's data, 72 security personnel, 54 civilians/people of undetermined affiliation, and 68 militants had been killed in Sur (International Crisis Group, 2023).

Urbicide ontologically points to the existence of urban dwellers. But rather than biopolitics, whose characteristics are the regulative and disciplinary power over populations, this presence is the urban dweller who becomes a living corpse in the uninhibited violence of disoriented war. The murderable urban dweller exists by creating temporal fractures in a city that can be reduced to rubble. This went so far as wounded civilians and military personnel being taken to different public hospitals. One medical staff member reported the following:

> But only at that time, we were working in hospitals and they were brought to hospitals for emergency interventions. At first, civilians and security forces were brought to all hospitals directly wounded. And then, of course, at the end, they started to separate them. *The security forces were brought to Selahattin Eyyübi in particular.* Then they sent all the physicians working at Selahattin Eyyübi on special assignment. Physicians were brought in for intervention. Most of the physicians here were not allowed to go there, that is, we were not allowed to go there at that time. Civilians were taken to other public hospitals[158].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Toprak

In this section, I will initially delve into the manifestations of necropower within the context of Diyarbakır Sur. Specifically, I will explore the dynamics surrounding encounters with corpses and how these remnants transformed into moribund entities.

5.2.4.1. Encountering with Corpse

This section focuses on the relationship between Urbicide in Sur and the corpse under three sub-headings. As mentioned above, urbicide is not only the destruction of the

[158] Original text: "Ama yalnız o dönemde hastanelerde bizler yani çalışıyorduk ve hastanelere acil müdahaleler için getiriliyordu. İlk başta siviller olsun, güvenlik güçleri olsun direkt yaralı bir şekilde bütün hastanelere getiriyorlardı. Ve tabii sonra, sonlarında ise bunları da ayırmaya başladılar. Güvenlik güçlerini özellikle Selahattin Eyyübi vardı, Selahattin Eyyübi'ye getiriliyordu. Selahattin Eyyübi'de çalışan hekimlerin hepsini de sonrasında özel olarak görevlendirme ile gönderdiler. Müdahale için hekimler getirildi. Buradaki hekimlerin çoğu da oraya alınmadı, yani bizlerin oraya gitmesine izin verilmedi o dönem. Siviller diğer kamu hastanelerine götürüldü."

city's infrastructure and cultural assets by creating ruptures in the quotidian. Urbicide is also the transformation of its inhabitants into living corpses through a necropolitical sovereign. The identity that becomes a target is under attack with all its components. In this state of violence where the civilian-combatant distinction is abolished, bodies are reduced to living corpses, that is, bare life. Bodies that are not treated as human beings while they are alive are free from the funeral treatment applied to dead human bodies after death. During this period, the concept of carrion was used by state authorities to describe dead bodies. The Turkish Language Association (TLA) defines carrion, which means corpse in Persian, as a "stinking dead animal" and "something that smells very bad."

> I mean the concept of *carrion*. It was used later on at the level of the Minister of Interior, of course it was used later on in another incident. And this is a very big thing. In fact, this is actually a very big event for a geography that has experienced very serious genocides before. But nobody heard it, I mean nobody saw it[159].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Toprak
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

The term "carrion," often employed in the context of bodies returned to their families, finds resonance in Miro's account. Drawing upon his experience as a medical professional, Miro underscores that the bodies emerging from Sur elicit suspicions concerning the utilization of heavy weaponry. To illustrate the extent of this suspicion, Miro underscores that the bodies' weight is dramatically reduced, often dwindling to as little as one-fifth of their original mass.

> Let me say something like this. Let me tell you the result of this. Now, *if a body is wounded with small arms, if that body weighs 80 kilos, it will reach you with 70 kilos at worst. But those who died weighing 80 kilos reached us weighing 10 kilos and 15 kilos.* This is not something that can happen with normal small arms. In other words, families could not even reach their children for a long time and the criminal investigations and autopsies took a long time. In fact, we went through a process in which the state didn't give this, didn't give the bodies, didn't give the results. In fact, society was being subjected to another torture. Because when the father went with us and our close friend to look for the children, the people there were saying that 'someone else had come for the *carrion*'. When they arrived, *we saw that they had taken their limbs in small bags and all of them were burnt to the third degree*. I mean,

[159] Original text: "Yani leş kavramını. İçişleri Bakanı düzeyinde daha sonra kullanıldı, tabii başka bir olaydaydı daha sonra kullanıldı. Ve bu çok şey bir durum. Aslında bu bir tür daha önce çok ciddi soykırımlar yaşamış bir coğrafya için çok büyük bir olay aslında. Ama hiç kimse duymadı, yani hiç kimse görmedi."

> these were not things that could be experienced with a bullet, not with a rifle or similar weapons, not with light weapons,[160].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Miro
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

At this juncture, it is worth heeding Mem, one of the interviewees, who invokes a classical adage highlighting the inherent inability to administer punishment to deceased bodies. Consequently, Mem emphasizes that the politics orchestrated in the realm of the deceased transcends the confines of legality.

> It says 'judgment is lifted from the dead and the insane.' But for example, funerals are not given, they are not buried, nothing is done[161].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Mem
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

This necropolitical paradigm, in which deceased bodies assume a political instrumentality, constitutes a novel decency for the sovereign. In the ensuing sections, we shall delve into the metamorphosis of Sur into an outdoor mortuary and delineate the two distinct approaches to funerals, each addressed within separate headings.

5.2.4.1.1. Sur: Open-Air Morgue

In an environment of war, heavy weaponry and widespread violence, it is inevitable that death is the dominant subject. In particular, statements that Sur resembles an open-air morgue in this sense were frequently encountered throughout the interviews.

---

[160] Original text: "Rengin1: Ben şöyle bir şey söyleyeyim. Şimdi bunun sonucunu söyleyeyim. Şimdi bir beden hafif silahla yaralanırsa o beden 80 kiloysa eğer o beden en kötü 70 kilo ile sana ulaşır. Ama bize 80 kiloluk ölenler 10 kilo 15 kilo şeklinde ulaştı. Bunlar normal hafif silahlarla olabilecek bir şey değil. Yani aileler hatta uzun süre çocuklarına ulaşamayan kriminal incelemeleri otopsileri uzun sürdü. Hatta devletin bunu vermediği, cenazeleri vermedi, sonuçlarını vermediği bir süreç yaşadık. Aslında topluma bir işkence daha yaşatılıyordu. Çünkü babası bizimle yakınımızdaki arkadaşımızla gidip çocukları aramaya çalıştığı zaman oradaki kişilerin leş için birisi daha geldi diye söylemleri vardı. Geldikleri zaman uzuvlarını poşetle küçük şeylerin içerisinde aldıklarını görmemiz ve hepsi de üçüncü derecede yanık bedenler. Yani bunlar normal işte mermiyle yaşanacak şeyler değil bir silahlı tüfekle veya benzeri silahlarla küçük silahlarla yaşanacak şeyler değildi."

[161] Original text: "'Ölüden ve deliden hüküm kalkar 'diyor yani. Ama mesela cenazeler verilmiyor, gömdürülmüyor, şey yapılmıyor."

Figure 57: 'Hand Reaching for the Earth' Scene from Arsenal
Source: Dovzhenko, O. P. (Director). (1929). Arsenal *[Film]*

War can never break free from the magical spectacle because its very purpose is to produce that spectacle: to fell the enemy is not so much to capture as to 'captivate' him, to instil the fear of death before he actually dies. (Virilio, 1989, pp. 7-8)

Figure 58: 'Woman Throwing Seeds' Scene from Arsenal
Source: Dovzhenko, O. P. (Director). (1929). Arsenal *[Film]*

Figure 59: 'Funeral' Scene from Weeping Meadow
Angelopoulos, T. (Director). (2004). Trilogy: The Weeping Meadow *[Film]*

In this sense, the corpse becomes an instrument of war in the hands of both sides: A spectacular tool of the war machine. In this case, bodies destined for death (a kind of voluntarism in the journey of consciousness) appear as living corpses, or citizens of the necropolis, in an order where necropower demonstrates its sovereignty over life through the power to kill. Aquilina, in his work, attempts to re-evaluate "the human, less as a named and recognisable 'being' than as an anonymous living corpse or 'thing,' residing beyond names and concepts" (Aquilina, 2019, p. ii). The living corpse is most strikingly visualized in Oleksandr Dovzhenko's *Arsenal* (Dovzhenko, 1929). The lethal power of war and weaponry is seen in the amputated human bodies, in the faces of people who have lost loved ones, in the hands of a soldier as they wander unbidden over a woman's body. However, the most striking scene in terms of this thesis is undoubtedly the hand of a body buried under rubble reaching for the earth (*figure-58*) (Dovzhenko, 1929, 0:13:53). At the beginning of the movie, a woman is seen throwing seeds into the soil (*figure-59*) (Dovzhenko, 1929, 0:05:01). With the war, instead of crops, human bodies emerge from the field, just like the arms and legs said to have been found in the rubble left near Dicle University.

The interviewees' accounts also resemble a classic scene from a Teodoros Angelopoulos movie. In my field notes, there is a funeral scene from Angelopoulos' film *Trilogy: Weeping Meadow* in particular (Angelopoulos, 2004, 1:27:24). In this scene, Angelopoulos shows a funeral procession on a raft accompanied by black flags

Figure 60: 'Return to Village' Scene from Weeping Meadow
Angelopoulos, T. (Director). (2004). Trilogy: The Weeping Meadow *[Film]*

(*figure-60*). When these dark faces of war return to the village where the corpse once lived, they find that the sheep have also been hanged to death (*figure-61*) (Angelopoulos, 2004, 1:30:24). The black flags and dead bodies are reminiscent of the transition from a harsh understanding of power to a necropolitical sovereign.

The transmutation of Sur into an al fresco mortuary materialized in the aftermath of the confrontations, coinciding with the disposition of rubble via trucks, as previously deliberated in the *Weapons and Politics* section. Initially, there was an entreaty for the retrieval of these bodies, and parliamentary representatives even initiated actions in this regard. In the words of Güneş,

> Again one day, there was an attempt to take the bodies, led by the MPs. We were also there, so there was an attempt to make a demand to take the bodies. At that moment there was an intervention, especially against the masses[162].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Güneş
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

Nonetheless, these efforts were met with obstructions, and numerous families conveyed their continued inability to access the remains of their loved ones. The vanishing of the body proves to be profoundly traumatizing for the bereaved, as it

[162] Original text: "Yine bir gün vekillerin de öncülüğünde cenazeler alınmaya çalışıldı. Biz de oradaydık, yani cenazeleri almak için bir talepte bulunma girişimi vardı. O esnada müdahale oldu özellikle kitle üzerine."

engenders the obliteration of memories once emblematic of the vitality of the departed. The ceaseless quest of the Saturday Mothers[163] in Galatasaray Square since the 1990s, scouring for the bones of their deceased kin every Saturday, constitutes a plea to cease the sorrow and to commemorate the departed. A comparable call for redress is made in the case of Sur (where these bodies are genuinely lost). An image is a prerequisite for mourning, and for the cadaver to evolve into an image,

> the corpse must be buried; it must be the image that carries the memory. The existence of the image depends on the grave of the corpse. Tombstones raise the memory of the dead person lying there. The image is proof that the corpse was once alive; it is the record that it was once human[164] (Sayın, 2021, p. 10).

In response to my inquiry regarding the interviewees' perceptions of the newly constructed blocks in Sur, a common metaphor that surfaced repeatedly likened these structures to a cemetery. One interviewee eloquently expressed this analogy as follows:

> So the floors in Sur are full of funerals. Right now they are building houses over our bodies[165].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Toprak
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

Despite the prohibition preventing civilians from entering the area where the rubble was being transported, several interviewees, either through clandestine access or information relayed by scrap dealers, recounted instances where human limbs and bones were unmistakably discovered within the transported rubble.

> Sibel: Were they able to get the bodies?
> Miro: No, they were in there, about that.
> Roj: I mean, a friend who went there said that there were human arms and human parts in the debris.
> Miro: Parts were found. This period of rubble transportation was dangerous. Because military excavations were also being dumped there. It is not clear whether there will

---

[163] On May 27, 1995, Saturday Mothers, relatives of the disappeared, gathered silently in a highly publicized area of Istanbul for the first time in front of the Galatasaray High School entrance on İstiklâl Street, holding demonstrations and press conferences every Saturday at noon until the fate of the disappeared was revealed, the perpetrators were apprehended and brought to justice, and the disappearance issue was finally resolved (Kürüm, 2012, p. 68).

[164] Original text: "Cesedin gömülmesi, belleği taşıyanın imge olması gerekir. İmgenin varlığı cesedin mezarına bağlıdır. Mezar taşları, yatmakta olan ölünün hatırasını ayağa kaldırır. İmge cesedin bir zamanlar canlı olmuş olduğunun kanıtıdır; bir zamanlar insan olmuş olduğuna düşülen kayıttır.

[165] Original text: "Yani Sur'da yerler cenaze dolu. Şu an bizim cenazelerimizin üzerine evler yapıyor."

> be an explosion there tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. Of course it has been flattened.
> Roj: It was collected with construction equipment. I can also say that bones were also found[166].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
>
> Interview with Miro, Roj, Picasso
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

Now more than ever, death is being politicized and legalized, and one of the ways this plays out is in the discriminatory allocation of mourning or the confiscation of the right to be buried. Those who do not have enough worth in this distribution should be killed, both for what they have done in the past and what they believe in now. Thus, the who, what, and why of death are intrinsically linked to politics. If the deceased were deemed unacceptable as an insider, then the message must be addressed to the living, the witnesses. This message of sovereign contains the authority and permission to do all necessary treatment on the deceased, and its ultimate goal is to de-historicize the practice.

5.2.4.1.2. Pouch: Modern Polynices

In Sophocles' celebrated play, a woman named Antigone loses her two brothers. However, King Creon, Antigone's uncle, refuses to allow Polynices, accused of betrayal, to be buried. The final part of the play, which has generated much debate in law and philosophy, is Antigone's demand for her brother's dead body: the right to be buried. Antigone's demand for her brother's corpse is defined by Judith Butler as the kinship between life and death. This ambivalent aspect of the demand stems from Antigone's positioning that oscillates between kinship and sovereign norms. In Butler's words,

> Opposing Antigone to Creon as the encounter between the forces of kinship and those of state power fails to take into account the ways in which Antigone has already departed from kinship, herself the daughter of an incestuous bond, herself devoted to an impossible and death-bent incestuous love of her brother, how her actions

---

[166] Original text: "Sibel: Cenazeleri alabilmişler miydi?
Miro: Yok içinde vardı yani o konuda yani.
Roj: Yani giden bir arkadaş şey demişti giden oraya çıkan yıkıntının içinde insan kolu vardı, insan parçalarının olduğunu söylüyordu.
Miro: Parçalar çıktı ya. Bu moloz taşıma dönemi şey için tehlikeliydi. Çünkü askeri hafriyatlar da oraya dökülüyordu. Yarın öbür gün orada bir patlama olup olmayacağı belli değil yani şu anda. Tabii ki düzleşti oranın.
Roj: İş makineleriyle toplanıp. Kemikler de çıkmıştı onu da söyleyebilirim."

> compel others to regard her as "manly" and thus cast doubt on the way that kinship might underwrite gender, how her language, paradoxically, most closely approximates Creon's, the language of sovereign authority and action, and how Creon himself assumes his sovereignty only by virtue of the kinship line that enables that succession, how he becomes, as it were, unmanned by Antigone's defiance, and finally by his own actions, at once abrogating the norms that secure his place in kinship and in sovereignty. Indeed, Sophocles' text makes clear that the two are metaphorically implicated in one another in ways that suggest that there is, in fact, no simple opposition between the two (2000, pp. 5-6).

Denial of a proper funeral, as Butler so aptly argues, refers to a dialectic relationship between the *deed* and the *doer*. To summarize, the relation between the doer and the deed is not always direct. Linguistic assertion blurs the relationship between the two at this point. When the crime of Antigone's secret burial of her brother comes before Creon with its witnesses, Butler skillfully draws attention to how Antigone relates to the deed at the linguistic level. So much so that Butler mentions that there is never any clarity on this issue in Sophocles' play. In fact, "what [Antigone] refuses is the linguistic possibility of severing herself from the deed, but she does not assert it in any unambiguously affirmative way: she does not simply say, 'I did the deed'" (Butler, 2000, p. 7).

Figure 61: Bones in A Pouch
Source: https://www.evrensel.net/yazi/91537/karton-kutuda-ve-cuval-icinde-verilen-evlat-kemikleri

Access Date: 08/08/2023

In this context, the quest for the right to burial, as it transitions into active pursuit, represents a subversion of norms from the perspective of the sovereign authority. This is because, in the eyes of the sovereign, the body reduced to its bare, dehumanized state is not deemed worthy of mourning. The act of mourning signifies that this body once embodied life. Consequently, the deceased body becomes a politicized entity, a symbol of agency and significance for the living.

> In order for the corpse and the image to diverge, for the corpse to turn into an image, the corpse must be buried, the image must be the bearer of memory. The existence of the image depends on the existence of the corpse. Tombstones raise the memory of the dead who are still lying there. The image is the proof that the corpse was once alive; it is the record that it was once human[167] (Sayın, 2018, pp. 10-11).

The case of Hakan Arslan is a modern version of Polynices, the brother buried by Antigone. As the petition[168] shows, the Diyarbakır Bar Association's request: The prosecution and punishment of the relevant public prosecutor, whose name appears on the attached delivery report, for the crime of insulting the memory of a person and abuse of office, for not delivering the body of Hakan Arslan in a proper manner.

In an interview conducted by MA (Mezopotamya Ajansı) in 2022, the parents of Hakan Arslan recounted the process of receiving their son's body, which was handed over in a bag (refer to *figure-62*). Ali Rıza Arslan, the father, shared that when he received the call to collect his son's body, he was initially instructed to dig a grave, and then the grave itself was documented through photography. He expressed his surprise upon discovering that his son's body was not located at the morgue or the Forensic Medicine Institution but rather at the Diyarbakır Courthouse. He described the moment when the body was handed over in the following manner.

> The clerk said he would bring the body, so I asked if the body was here, and he said yes. He went and got the body and brought it. He said, 'If you'll excuse me, there's a CD in the body, I need to take it.' He opened the bag, and when I saw the bones, I felt very bad. I couldn't see anything anymore. They gave it to me in a bag, in a box, and told me to take it and go[169](Mezopotamya Ajansı, 2022).

---

[167] Original text: "Ceset ile imgenin ayrışması, cesedin imgeye dönüşmesi için cesedin gömülmesi, belleği taşıyanın imge olması gerekir. İmgenin varlığı cesedin varlığına bağlıdır. Mezar taşları yatmakta olan ölünün hatırasını ayağa kaldırır. İmge cesedin bir zamanlar canlı olmuş olduğunun kanıtıdır; bir zamanlar insan olduğuna düşülen kayıttır."

[168] See Appendix-9: *The Case of Hakan Arslan*.

[169] Original text: "Katip cenazeyi getireceğini söyledi, ben de cenaze burada mı diye sordum, evet yanıtını verdi. Gitti cenazeyi aldı ve getirdi. 'Müsaade ederseniz, cenazenin içinde bir CD var onu

In this context, the corpse serves not only as a symbol of victory over the adversary but also as a tool for governing the remaining population, sending a clear message that they are perpetually vulnerable to being killed. Through the dead body, the sovereign extends the narrative, which, in the Hegelian sense, would have ended with the death of one of the parties, transforming it into a state of living death encapsulated within the confines of a bag of bones. The funeral, traditionally a farewell to the deceased, takes on a transgressive dimension for the sovereign as the remains are reduced to mere bare life. In a dialectical process of negation of negation, consciousness embarks on its unending journey.

During the fieldwork, similar narratives to Arslan's funeral were encountered. One particularly notable account was provided by Toprak, who vividly recalled his experiences:

> Another family, another family I met. I mean, one of their children was in the guerrilla. That's why they told me that the police often called the mother and tried to psychologically influence the family with false news saying 'your son is dead, come and get his body.' The mother told me that they did this many times. After that, they would often raid the house. 'Where is he?' and so on. [...] Then they gave the bones to the mother in a bag[170].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Toprak
> Other codes assigned to segment: The Dimension of War > Misery in the Times of War; War Description > Gendered War

The infringement upon the right to a dignified burial, as previously discussed, represents a form of erasure of evidence that the corpse was once a human being. Nevertheless, the sovereign's treatment of deceased bodies goes beyond mere removal from sight, taking on a different dimension in some instances. This will be explored in the following section, focusing on the spectacularization of corpses.

---

almam gerekiyor' dedi. Torbayı açtı, ben kemikleri görünce çok kötü oldum. Gözüm artık bir şeyi görmedi. Bir torbada, kutuda bana verdiler al git dediler."

[170] Original text: "Başka bir aile de, görüştüğüm başka bir aile de. Yani işte bir çocukları gerilladaydı. O yüzden sık sık polisin habire anneyi arayıp "oğlun öldü gel cesedini al" diye asparagas haberlerle sürekli aileye psikolojik etki altına almaya çalıştıklarını söylemişlerdi. Anne anlatmıştı defalarca kez bunu yapmışlar. Ondan sonra eve baskın yapıyorlarmış sık sık. İşte "nerede bu" falan diye. […] Sonra işte bir torbanın içinde verdiler kemiklerini anneye."

5.2.4.1.3. Spectacular Corpse as the Symbol of Sovereign

It has already been discussed in this thesis that dead bodies have become a signifier of necro-power. With the instrumentalization of the body as a regulatory tool for populations, post-Nazi politics and the post-colonial regime, the focus shifted to the study of the body as corpse. Dead bodies are not always rendered invisible by the sovereign in the orphanage, under rubble or in a bag. They also take on a spectacular form, as John Berger saw in the display of Che Guevara' corpse (2013, p. 2). The photograph presented to the public, which Berger likens to Rembrandt's painting of *The Anatomy Lesson of Professor Tulp*, has a political meaning (2013, p. 4). Berger explains this resemblance and the display of the corpse as follows:

> Thousands of photographs are taken of the dead and the massacred. But the occasions are seldom formal ones of demonstration. Doctor Tulp is demonstrating the ligaments of the arm, and what he says applies to the normal arm of every man. The colonel with the handkerchief is demonstrating the final fate – as decreed by "divine providence" – of a notorious guerrilla leader, and what he says is meant to apply to every guerrillero on the continent. […] There are not so many ways of laying out the criminal dead (2013, p. 5).

In Sur, both in the narratives of the participants and in the reports of the institutions, it can be seen that the dead human bodies taken out of the demolition site or still in the area were subjected to various forms of torture. Helin's testimony in this regard is as follows:

> Yes, for example, there were things like torturing the bodies. There were things that happened to children who were killed, panzers passing over and sharing the bodies[171].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
>
> Interview with Helin
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

Another aspect to consider is the transformation of the deceased body into an object of public display, a clear demonstration of the Sovereign's authority over the deceased.

> They caught a friend there and ran over him with a tank while he was still wounded, maybe they told you about it[172].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse

---

[171] Original text: "Evet mesela şey vardı cenazelere yapılan işkenceler mesela. Öldürülen çocuklar üzerinden şey geçmişti, panzer geçirip cesetleri paylaşmalar."

[172] Original text: "Orada bir arkadaşı yakalamışlar daha yaralıyken şeyle üstünden geçmişler, tankla üstünden geçmişler belki anlattılar size onu."

Interview with Helin
Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

The fact that the bodily integrity of the dead is disrupted is frequently mentioned in witness narratives. The delivery of corpses to families also reflects this spectacular characteristic of necropolitical power. For example, in Toprak's narrative, state officials offer to give "half" of a corpse to be handed over to a friend. This is half of the body, and the implication is that it is not a human body but a *homo sacer*.

> Sibel: Did the incoming bodies lose their body integrity?
>
> Toprak: Of course, most of them were. My friend had a situation. Let me put it this way, we encountered a policeman who said to a friend who was looking for someone, for example, 'we couldn't find your friend, but we were able to bring back half of him.' In other words, as if making fun of us, we always encountered people whose bodily integrity was broken and in the second or third degree. Burns, that is, simple gunshot wounds or killings. Third-degree burns are only on the wounded part, but he had burns all over his body[173].
>
> Code: ● Weapon and Politics: Encountering with Corpse
> Interview with Toprak
> Other codes assigned to segment: IMP

The display of the body, especially the female body, is treated as a manifestation of masculinity. The female body is used as a means of attacking identity in the hands of power in times of war. In this sense, sexual violence against the female body during wartime shows both how wartime sexual violence differs from private, everyday sexual violence, and how war is a gendered reality. Sovereign's relationship with masculinity is made very clear through this wartime violence. My questions about whether such situations were experienced in Sur were answered by an interviewee as follows:

> I remember now! There was a case that was brought in who had been raped with a gun, with the barrel of a gun. She even had very serious lacerations when she was brought in. She was even operated on, she was operated on in surgery[174].
>
> Code: ● IMP > RED
> Interview with Roj

---

[173] Original text: "Sibel: Gelen bedenler beden bütününü kaybetmiş miydi?
Toprak: Tabii gelenlerin çoğu öyleydi. Arkadaşımın bir durumu oldu. Bunu ben şöyle söyleyeyim birisini arayan mesela birisini arayan bir arkadaşa "senin arkadaşını bulamadık ama yarısını getirebildik" diyen bir polis ile karşılaştık. Yani dalga geçer gibi hep böyle beden bütünlüğü bozulmuş kişilerle ve ikinci üçüncü dereceden. Yanıklar yani basit ateşli silahlarla yaralanmalarla veyahut öldürmelerle. Üçüncü dereceden yanık olması sadece yaralanan yerde olur, ama vücudunun tamamında yanık vardı."

[174] Original text: "Şimdi hatırladım! Getirilen bir vaka vardı silahla tecavüz edilmişti, silahın namlusuyla. Hatta getirildiğinde çok ciddi yırtıkları vardı. Hatta cerrahi de yapıldı, cerrahide yapıldı müdahalesi."

Up to this point, I have explored how the Sovereign utilizes the deceased body as a condition of its existence. In the following section, I will delve into how the very foundation of power's existence is destabilized by death.

5.2.4.2. Necroresistance through Cemeteries and Memorials

The addition in Duman's article to the epigraph at the beginning of *Funeral and Murder* is also appropriate for this subtitle of the chapter. In her article, Duman (2020) refers to Forugh Farrokhzad's poem *Reborn*: "I plant my hands in the garden soil—/I will sprout,/I know, I know, I know" (Farrokhzad, 2007, p. 80). Necroresistance emerges as a dialectic response in the context of necro-power, where death dominates, just as in the Foucault quote "where there is power, there is resistance." There are many interviewee notes in which funerals and dead bodies in particular are treated as elements of Necroresistance. The ground on which the power established through death rises is again undermined through bodies, but this time through dead bodies. Where the ground becomes slippery with the dismembered bodies of the dead, it fills up with Marx's spirits of the dead, as mentioned elsewhere in this study.

> For Levinas, death cannot be assumed because it lies eternally in the future (and because it cannot be assumed by any "I"); here, however, in death made past, there is nothing to do but live on—not because death never comes, but rather one lives on and with death because it 'has already arrived'. Hamlet's question, then, is not to be understood as the futile hypothetical that Levinas makes it out to be. In being already dead yet living on, we have indeed both being and not being behind us. If the question is futile, it is not because we—as citizens of the necropolis—can only and irremissibly be, but because we can neither be nor not be (Aquilina, 2019, p. 153).

Interviewees gave various accounts of the funeral procedures for civilians and members of the organization who were killed during the clashes. Since the practices that Bargu defines as Necroresistance are defined in terms of self-destruction, it is not possible to talk about such an experience within the scope of this thesis since there is no information on whether such performative acts took place directly in Sur. In other words, although those who lost their lives in Sur knew that the place was bombed and were aware of the lethal level of violence, the fact that they continued to stay there and were killed as a result points to a situation of necroresistance, a sacrifice. Because in Bargu's analysis,

> the actor's refusal, by an act of self-destruction, of their individual self-preservation effectively pushes back against biopoliticized sovereignty, or biosovereignty—defined by her as a neoliberal regime of power surfacing "at the intersection of" sovereignty and biopolitics, of the power to kill and the power to regulate life. In asserting politics over survival, necroresistance thus opposes biosovereignty's "power *of* life [and death]" as well as its "power *over* life, including the power over the definition of life."26 The practices of self-starvation and self-immolation Bargu takes as exemplary of necroresistance strike at what she terms "state monopsony" on political sacrifice. These practices, in other words, challenge the status quo wherein the state is the only legitimate recipient of such sacrifice. (Chrostowska, 2021, p. 92)

According to Bargu, this politicization of the body through death not only disrupts the existing power structure. At the same time, it brings an important critique to the biopolitical approach by subjecting bodies reduced to bare life to a critical analysis. In her words,

> the assertion of a politicized life over and against survival and the prioritization of political causes and ideological convictions over biological existence do not only challenge the foundations of the existing order but also force us to reconsider the turn taken in the biopolitical approach that uses the category of bare life rather indiscriminately and uncritically and, worse, that assumes it to be a matter of fact rather than a biosovereign fantasy (Bargu, 2014, p. 344).

Benjamin, the theorist who extensively deliberated on violence and ruin, posits a similar perspective, contending that, in contrast to prevailing beliefs, ruin, violence, and destruction have the potential to catalyze a collective awakening, giving rise to a revolutionary rupture.

> No book that claims to be heir to Benjamin can overlook the fact that he was interested in arcades, fetishes, ruins, destruction, afterlife, violence, and phantasmagorias to contribute to a collective awakening from the nightmare of the bourgeois dream world (Gordillo, 2014, p. 27).

I mention the funerals in Sur that create an awakening in this sense or that bring people together against these necropolitical practices of the government. The funerals of civilians or combatants delivered to their families turned into a practice of necroresistance that undermines the sovereignty of the government through death. Bodies that are intended to be tamed through the dead body confront the power as *homo sacer* who have accepted to be living death with the funerals. In the face of attacks on funerals (not allowing the bodies to be buried in the public cemetery, preventing funeral ceremonies, giving the bodies in pouches, and violence against those who come to the funeral ceremony by law enforcement forces), city dwellers turn this situation into a site of resistance. The transformation of this situation from a

mere phenomenon of trauma into a strategy of coping with trauma for the city dwellers was expressed as follows:

> As for the debate on how traumatizing it is. Actually, the concept of trauma is used in a way, it is used in a very common way. An event can be traumatic, yes. But what determines the traumatizing effect of the event is the perception, coping capacity and perception of those who experienced the event. It is very important because trauma is ultimately events that we do not expect.[175]
>
> Code: ● IMP
> Interview with Mem

Mem further characterizes this phenomenon as an intensely traumatic experience, distinguishing it from the conventional understanding of post-traumatic stress disorder.

> This leads them to some expectations about what the state can do. In other words, since there are things, we do not expect in trauma, we may not actually be traumatized on the one hand. We can think like this, not every trauma creates post-traumatic stress. Some traumas create post-traumatic growth[176].
>
> Code: ● IMP
> Interview with Mem
> Other codes assigned to segment: Weapon and Politics: The Dimension of War > Peace Process

Hence, funeral ceremonies take on a profound social significance, serving as a unifying event that fosters communal bonds. The sovereignty sought by Necropower, which seeks to exert control through death, is inverted, and a context emerges in which death ceases to be a source of fear for the opposing party. This means that the self-awareness that recoils from death, as in Hegel's dialectic of self-consciousnesses, no longer dreads the life revealed through death. In essence, funerals transform into an act of necroresistance or, in Bargu's terminology, state monopsony.

> Funerals were also a rallying point. In other words, it somehow brings the mass together, knows the anger, and then ensures solidarity. I mean, the state also does this, of course, for example, it can turn the funeral of a soldier who has lost his life into a very good political material[177].

---

[175] Original text: "Ne kadar travmatize edici tartışmasına gelince. Aslında travma kavramı şey bir şekilde kullanılıyor, çok yaygın bir şekilde kullanılıyor. Bir olay, evet travmatik olabilir. Ama olayın travmatize etkisini belirleyen, olayı yaşayanların algısı, baş etme kapasitesi ve o olaya dair algılarıdır. Çok önemli çünkü yani travma nihayetinde beklemediğimiz olaylar."

[176] Original text: "Bu da onları şey konusunda yani devletin ne yapabileceği konusunda bazı beklentilere götürür. Yani travma da beklemediğimiz şeyler olduğundan aslında bir yandan travmatize olmayabilinir. Şöyle düşünebiliriz her travma, travma sonrası stres yaratmaz. Bazı travmalar, travma sonrası büyüme yaratır."

[177] Original text: "Cenazeler aynı zamanda şey oluyor, yani toparlayıcı oluyordu. Yani bir şekilde kitleyi bir araya getiriyor, öfkeyi biliyor, ondan sonra dayanışmayı sağlıyor. Yani bunu devlet de yapıyor tabii ki mesela yaşamını yitiren bir askerin cenazesini çok iyi bir politik malzeme haline getirebiliyor."

Code: ● IMP > RED
Interview with Mem
Other codes assigned to segment: Encountering with Corpse > Dealing with Dead Bodies

The endeavors of those who remained to bring to light this lethal politics were articulated by one participant in the following manner:

> But this is what we believe, I used this metaphor in the general assembly of UCTEA. I said, we did this, we did that, we exposed what the state did in Sur and throughout Kurdistan. I said we filed lawsuits, we informed the public, we exposed them and so on. So what happened? Did we get results? No, we didn't. But I likened it to this, I mean, there is a big wall in front of me, you go and punch it, you punch it. Nothing happens to the wall, but your hand bleeds. It hurts, blood flows from your hand. But what happened is that you tell the wall that I am here, my friend, maybe it doesn't affect you, but it is here with my presence[178].

Code: ● IMP > RED
Interview with Mem
Other codes assigned to segment: Encountering with Corpse > Dealing with Dead Bodies

The question remains to be answered as to whether there has been a qualitative change through the transformation of these post-traumatic experiences into sites of resistance.

This chapter, which scrutinizes the four primary dimensions of the thesis through the fieldwork carried out in Diyarbakır in September 2019 and the visual documentation integrated into the photo-documentation, delves into the urban destruction. Spatial destruction is examined from various facets, while the analysis encompasses collective memory by examining disruptions in daily life and monumental devastation. The post-2015 violence is assessed, taking into account accounts of military vehicle usage. The symbolic significance of the bulldozer, which holds a distinct place in the literature on urban genocide, is also evident in Diyarbakır Sur. During this period when deceased bodies and funerals serve as tools of authority, violence unfolds indiscriminately, without differentiation between civilians and combatants. The subsequent section of the thesis will conclude with the primary findings derived from the aforementioned analysis.

---

[178] Original text: "Ama biz böyle inanıyoruz yani ben şeyde bu metaforu kullandım bizim TMMOB genel kurulunda. Ben dedim işte biz bunu yaptık bunu yaptık işte teşhir ettik devletin yaptıklarını Sur'da Kürdistan genelinde yaptık. Eylem hukuku davalarını açtık dedim. İşte kamuoyunu bilgilendirdik teşhir ettik falan. E ne oldu? Sonuç aldık mı? Hayır sonuç almadık. Ama bu şeye benzettim yani karşımda büyük bir duvar var, gidiyorsun yumrukluyorsun, yumrukluyorsun. Duvara hiçbir şey olmuyor ama elin kanıyor. Canın sızlıyor kan akıyor elinden. Ama ne oldu duvara diyorsun ki ben buradayım arkadaş, seni etkilemiyor belki ama benim varlığım ile buradadır."

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Gray Gray Gray
Morning, mist, rain
Cloud, Illusion, memory
There was no song in me, but you sang
There was no mirror in me, but you saw
A root I was in the illusion of the sacred earth
I grew in your eyes without rain
Your eyes glittered
My vision became rainy
Your cheeks wet with the rain, your eyes sunny.
Wolves giving birth; watch out for the lambs.
Caress me whit your eyes;
my shepherd's cane will be a useful tool.
After the war, I will pick fresh figs for you with my cane.
I will stay with you.
I will sang with you.
And I will kiss you in your sunny bewilderment
If clouds allow.
Mohammad Ebrahim Jafari, Gray,

This thesis aims to provide a comprehensive conceptualization of the destruction witnessed in Sur, framing it as an instance of urbicide. The urbicide concept, which has encountered some degree of conceptual inflation, is here subjected to a systematic and thorough examination, focusing on four core dimensions that illuminate the urban facet of the devastation. The spatial dimension primarily involves the critical locations of spatial destruction and the visual elements that define the theater of war. Spatial analysis encompasses both the vertical and horizontal perspectives of urbicide, as well as the urban configurations that shape the landscape. The subsequent section of this study delves into the temporal dimension of destruction, with a particular focus on disruptions within the daily rhythms of life and the fractures in collective memory. The urban environment, marked by the integration of symbols and instruments associated with militarism, continuous bomb explosions, and the deliberate targeting of monuments, vividly exemplifies the temporal dissonance induced by urbicide.

Additionally, this thesis contends that urbicide can be interpreted as the intentional obliteration of urban infrastructure resulting from armed conflict. A comprehensive investigation is conducted to explore the use of heavy weaponry in the Diyarbakır Sur region, both during and after military operations. Furthermore, this study underscores the conceptualization of warfare and its gendered dimensions within the context of armed conflict. Finally, an examination of casualties incurred during the conflict, along with the intricate interplay between mortality and political dynamics, is undertaken. The topic of funerals and the incorporation of corpses into the urban landscape is also explored within the framework of urbicide.

6.1. Backdrops and Further Research Opportunities

This thesis, like any research endeavor, operates within specific constraints and adheres to a particular epistemological framework aimed at uncovering truths. The study delves into the devastation in Diyarbakır Sur, stemming from military operations and conflicts occurring after 2015, conceptualizing it as a case of urbicide. This analysis seeks to contextualize the destruction by exploring the interconnectedness of space, time, war, and power. The decision to limit the investigation exclusively to Sur introduces several challenges, as detailed in *Chapter 2*. In the initial phase of the study, the field research encompassed various locations, including Cizre, Şırnak city center, Nusaybin, İdil, and Yüksekova, all of which have experienced urban warfare.

However, these specific locations were ultimately excluded from the study due to a combination of security concerns, academic limitations, and challenges posed by the ongoing pandemic. These factors are extensively examined and elaborated upon in the second chapter of the study. The aforementioned limitation in the field research underscores a critical domain that warrants further exploration. Nevertheless, the study's focused examination on the state and power can be attributed to the political and practical obstacles encountered while delving into this particular subject matter. The data was primarily gathered through interviews conducted with local government officials who had not yet been officially appointed as trustees, supplemented by the analysis of publicly accessible documents published by state agencies. Various sources, such as ammunition records, operation details, forensic reports, records,

mapping findings, drone photographs, and intelligence data, offer potential avenues for enhancing and expanding the ongoing inquiry.

While the gender dimension of urbicide was not extensively addressed in my study, it remains a topic of significant importance deserving of dedicated investigation. Likewise, there is room for further exploration of the political economy surrounding the catastrophe, an area that has yet to be thoroughly examined.

A notable limitation of this thesis lies in its exclusive focus on contemporary conflicts and urban forms, while overlooking a comprehensive examination of historical instances of urban destruction and warfare. As demonstrated in this thesis, the deliberate demolition of cities to serve the interests of power has been a recurrent and widespread social phenomenon throughout history. Prominent historical examples, such as the salting and leveling of cities to render them uninhabitable, underscore the enduring connection between urban environments and acts of devastation. Conducting a comparative historical analysis to explore urban destruction across different time periods is an essential avenue for future research within the scope of this thesis.

Furthermore, this thesis underscores the imperative for further research into the distinctive characteristics of the region under study, alongside an in-depth exploration of the contextual and historical factors that have contributed to the conflict and violence in Diyarbakır Sur. While legal regulations and sanctions are expected to remain constant, comprehending the thesis's temporal and spatial context necessitates a comprehensive examination of these contextual factors. Additionally, the thesis posits that investigations into youth and gerontology in the post-war region are essential to achieving a well-rounded understanding of the situation. The intersection of youth, old age, and the impact of war emerged as a prominent theme during the fieldwork, leading to discussions on the resurgence of repressed memories and experiences. Consequently, it is crucial to consider the role of youth in shaping the trajectory of the post-war region as a pivotal area for future research inquiries.

6.2. Concluding Remarks

The annals of human history have been indelibly marked by a series of cataclysmic events and their profound ramifications. Across the epochs, a multitude of instances

of urban destruction has been documented, spanning from the obliteration of cities like Troy to the mournful elegies penned for Ur, Uruk, and Eridu (Green, 1984), as well as the symbolic plowing of Carthage, which served as an epitome of utter desolation (Stevens, 1988, p. 40). Notably, contemporary urban destruction through warfare possesses distinct features when juxtaposed against its historical predecessors. This distinction arises from the perspective of Lefebvre's highly urbanized global sphere and the evolution of war into an urbanized phenomenon in its classical sense.

Amidst this densely urbanized global landscape, diverse approaches have emerged to elucidate the complex dynamics engendered by conflicts that afflict metropolitan centers. This thesis adopts a methodological stance that centers on the city's destruction, delving into the ensuing debris and the intricate social dynamics that materialize within this context. Instead of merely embracing the abstract notion of "the city," the primary thrust of this inquiry is a critical exploration of the facets that become obscured when a city undergoes the crucible of destruction. This examination is keenly directed towards what dissipates from the realm of collective memory and necropolitical dynamics when the city is razed to the ground, with particular emphasis on the entwinement of urbanity and warfare.

This investigation is primarily centered on the novel concept of urbicide and its multifaceted ramifications. Our initial exploration is directed towards comprehending the intrinsic nature of the spatial domain under scrutiny. To achieve a comprehensive grasp of this subject matter, we endeavor to amalgamate empirical insights gleaned from fieldwork conducted in Diyarbakır Sur with pertinent scholarly literature. Diyarbakır Sur, in the wake of military operations since 2015, has borne witness to a myriad of devastating consequences, spanning from the wreckage of infrastructural elements to the obliteration of historical landmarks that symbolize the collective memory of its inhabitants. The scope of this devastation encompasses not only the terrestrial realm but also extends to the ethereal skies above, with a particular focus on the poetics of destruction manifesting in residences, thoroughfares, and communal infrastructure.

The scrutiny of spatial destruction encompasses an exploration of the subterranean substratum, while the temporal facet endeavors to dissect the crevices and lacunae instigated by the annihilation of Diyarbakır Sur. By means of a comprehensive analysis

of the physical milieu and the auditory ambiance, this thesis aims to elucidate the profound repercussions of war on the quotidian facets of existence. Fieldwork has laid bare the indelible impact of warfare on the collective recollections of the past, with narratives regarding the pre-war era being recounted against the backdrop of conflict. Furthermore, the inquiry underscores the blurring of delineations between the civilian populace and militant elements, rendering the object of violence increasingly enigmatic. This study delves into the underlying necropolitical dynamics that precipitate such blurriness, with a particular focus on themes of mortality, cadavers, and funeral practices within the milieu of Sur. In this open-air morgue, the deceased are tragically co-opted as instruments of warfare, casting a haunting pall over the cityscape.

It is crucial to acknowledge that the thesis has undergone a transition from a positive ontological standpoint to a viewpoint grounded on non-urban comprehension centered around rubble. Urban theory encompasses a diverse range of perspectives and points of view aimed at forming a constructivist understanding of the city. Its focal point is the urban experience, which is shaped by a multitude of factors such as culture, history, geography, economics, and politics. By examining these factors, urban theory seeks to shed light on the complex and dynamic nature of urban environments, and understand how they shape and are shaped by the individuals and communities that inhabit them. The urban experience has been explored by many theorists who sought to better understand and evaluate the world around them. While their viewpoints are diverse and multifaceted, they all refer to the aspects of urban organization that contribute to the formation of urban reality. Rather than focusing on annihilation or destruction, the pioneers of modern urban studies have shifted their attention to the presence-based investigation of urban formation. By re-questioning the conceptualization of urban through destruction, ruination, and war, we can gain a better understanding of the complexities of urban development. The question arises: can we redefine the urban by looking at its opposite, i.e., non-urban? Taking a new perspective on this matter may enable us to reassess our current understanding of urban and shed light on new possibilities for urban development.

In this context, space is not only confined to the realm of scientific inquiry, nor is it limited to the conceptualization of architects, nor is it a singular and homogeneous encounter. The phenomenon in question is subject to perception, production,

destruction, disruption, and reconstruction through the process of mediation. The comprehension of space as performative, facilitated by mediation, also indicates its capacity for transformation. In his work, Kardeş (2022) explains that the term "triad" is used to represent the intricate and multifaceted aspect of spatial reality, rather than solely focusing on its inherent contradictions. Adopting this approach allows for the exploration and acknowledgment of marginalized voices (2022, p. 565). From this perspective, the city can be considered as a realm of potentialities, where the subject of scientific inquiry is not predetermined or fixed. Lefebvre (1996) conceptualizes the past, the present, and the possibility as interconnected entities. Sounding Lefebvre's production of space, the social dimension of space destruction parallels its production. The phenomenon under consideration encompasses three distinct categories: *perceived destruction*, which refers to the physicality of *debris*; *designed wreckage,* which denotes intentional damage and *ruination*; and *lived debris* which pertains to the experience of *rubble*. This dissertation delved into the intricate relationships between these three components and how they were engaged in the process of destruction in different contexts. The study utilized a range of theoretical frameworks and empirical evidence to provide a nuanced understanding of the subject matter.

One of the main challenges of the thesis was whether the limits of the concept of the city could be reached. If one acknowledges the historical interaction between space, the relations of production, and power, it becomes evident that the most intense manifestation of this interaction occurs in the era of contemporary capitalism. During this period, space undergoes a transformation into a commodity. According to Lefebvre, the contemporary city may be seen as a spatial manifestation that underpins the capitalist system and gives rise to a particular way of life. In this context, the concept of space, specifically referring to urban areas, undergoes a dual process. Firstly, it is created or constructed, transforming into a commodity. Secondly, it serves as a platform where the interactions and dynamics of production occur. This thesis acknowledges the emphasis placed on the development of space but suggests shifting the focus toward its annihilation in order to delineate the concept of the city. The act of defining something results in an endless state of non-consummation that is incapable of being digested. When embarking on the trajectory of *negation*, one may employ a strategy that converges toward the boundaries of existence; s/he can approach the limit with a method that sutures towards existence. In the present scenario

characterized by the interdependence of existence and nothingness, the researcher is primarily concerned with the eradication of spatial dimensions rather than their construction.

The present study, as explicated in the section pertaining to research design, focused particular emphasis on the researcher's positionality. The emotional distress and intellectual examination associated with encountering cemeteries were closely intertwined with the imperative of expressing one's views on the societal afflictions and destruction prevalent in the community in which I reside. As posited in the thesis, the imperative to reach a decision, encountered by an individual of privilege who possesses access to this information during a time when mortality reveals itself in its unadorned state and in a region where the pervasive scent of death lingers, unsettles one's privileged stance and necessitates a multifaceted sacrifice. In this context, the determination encompasses both political and conscientious dimensions. Observing the presence of suffering and devastation within one's own community and endeavoring to advocate for it can be considered advantageous for a researcher, particularly if it leads to the creation of a tangible outcome. Put otherwise, the moral gratification derived by exercising one's voice surpasses the practical expenses by a substantial degree. However, the embarrassment and psychological questioning I experienced with this research also reminds me of the *Chiron cultural archetype*.

> In the Greek myth, Chiron was the eldest and wisest of the centaurs, a tribe of half-horse men. The meaning of the Greek word Chiron is "hand" (noun) or "skilled with hands" (adjective) and it is closely related to the Greek word chirourgos (surgeon). […] According to the myth, Chiron was wounded accidentally by Heracles's arrow coated with the poisonous blood of Hydra. The unbearably painful wound was incurable, but Chiron, immortal because of his divine ancestry, could not die. The agonized centaur roamed the earth and continued to heal the sickly and the injured. He thus came to embody the paradox of the great healer who can heal everyone except himself. (Benziman et. Al, 2012, p. 3).

The contemporary rendition of this legendary tale is exemplified in John Lennon's declaration to a member of the press. Following the approval of his eagerly anticipated GreenCard application, the journalist inquired whether Lenon held any resentment towards anyone who impeded the process. In response, Lenon stated, "No, I am of the belief that time has the capacity to mend all grievances." The present study concludes with a somber and distressing perspective, transitioning from the optimistic notion of "time heals all healers" to the detrimental aspects of time. This sentiment encapsulates my stance as a researcher. Engaging in the fulfillment of my political and moral

responsibility, which I claim to have undertaken, has resulted in a state of personal affliction as a researcher who has been intimately exposed to explicit acts of violence over the course of my study. This affliction has left me emotionally wounded and rendered me temporarily speechless. The concept of the wounded healer, which possesses a more profound significance compared to the explanations of secondary trauma, highlights the progressive harm experienced by both the observer and the transmission of their experiences.

Indeed, one could contend that the exploration of hope within the confines of this text remains somewhat limited in scope. The individual expressing such a viewpoint is not without merit. Nevertheless, it is paramount to harken back to the verses encapsulated within Turgut Uyar's poetic composition aptly titled "Hope." These verses serve as a poignant reminder that hope is not a passive sentiment but rather an intentional and active endeavor.

> hope is actually an exercise
> that others donate for a little breath
> -like waiting for spring-
> because it is treacherous and non-existent
> carries with it despair
> but the date called spring will come anyway
> with the logic that nature is unstoppable
> unit being made of green
> with a push from the water
>
> there is no hope
> there is no one to prevent not hoping
> because hope will inevitably come
> with all its thunder
> because hope is the inevitable truth
> While one ends in Asia, for example, another begins in Chile[179]

[179] Original text: a"slında bir alıştırmadır umut
öbürlerinin azıcık nefes diye bağışladığı
-baharı beklemeye benzer-
hain ve olmayanadır çünkü
umutsuzluğu taşır yanında
oysa nasıl olsa gelecektir bahar denen tarih
önüne durulmaz mantığıyla doğanın
yeşilden olma birim
sudan gelme itmeyle
umut yoktur
kimse yoktur umut etmemeyi önleyecek
çünkü umut kaçınılmaz gelecektir
bütün gümbürtüsüyle
umut kaçınılmaz gerçektir çünkü
biri Asya'da biterken sözgelişi, Şili'de öbürkü başlar"

REFERENCES

Abujidi, N. (2014). Urbicide in Palestine: Spaces of Oppression and Resilience. Routledge.

Adair, G. (2002). *Alfred Hitchcock: Filming Our Fears*. Oxford University Press.

Adams, V. I. (2009). Medicolegal Autopsy and Postmortem Toxicology. In *Handbook of Autopsy Practice*, (Ed.) Brenda L. Waters.

Adorno, T. W. & Horkheimer, M. (2002). *Dialectics of Enlightenment.* Stanford University Press.

Ahıska, M. (2011). Monsters that Remember: Tracing the Story of the Workers' Monument in Tophane, İstanbul. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, *45*, 9-47. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0896634600001291

Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life.* Stanford University Press.

Agamben, G. (1999a). The Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive. Zone Books.

Agamben, G. (1999b). *Potentialities.* Stanford University Press.

Agamben, G. (2005). *State of Exception*. The University of Chicago Press.

Agre, P. (2001). Imagining the next war: Infrastructural warfare and the conditions of Democracy. *Radical Urban Theory*, http://www.rut.com/911/

Agtaş, Ö. (2013). *Ceza ve Adalet.* Metis Yayınları.

Akça, İ. (2017). "Kolektif Bir Sermayedar Olarak Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri". *Bir Zümre, Bir Parti Türkiye'de Ordu*, Birikim Kitapları.

Alhadeff-Jones, M. (2021). Time and the Rhythms of Academia: A Rhythmanalitical Perspective. In *Inquiring into Academic Timescapes*, Vostal, F. (Ed.), 21-37. https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-78973-911-420211004

Altay, G. (2021, July 8). *Sur Tipi Cezaevi!* Mezopotamya Haber Ajansı. Retrieved July 16, 2021, from http://mezopotamyaajansi35.com/tum-haberler/content/view/140281

Altuğ, E. (2019). "Zehra Doğan: Bırakın, Biraz Da Biz Kendimizi Anlatalım". In GazeteDuvar, 26 May 2019, https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/yazarlar/2019/05/26/zehra-dogan-birakin-biraz-da-biz-kendimizi-anlatalim

Anderson, B. (2011). Affect and Biopower: Towards A Politics of Life. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 37*, 28-43.

Angelopoulos, T. (Director). (2004). *Trilogy: The Weeping Meadow* [Film]. Attika Art Productions.

Antaki, M. (2004). Carl Schmitt's Nomos of the Earth. *Osgoode Hall Law Journal, 42*(2), 317-334.

Aquilina, A. (2019). The death of me: literature, relational death, and the human thing. [Ph.D. Thesis: Lancaster University].

Aquilina, A. (2023). *The Ontology of Death: The Philosophy of the Death Penalty in Literature.* Bloomsbury Academic.

Appadurai, A. (2003). Archive and aspiration. *Information is Alive*, V2 Publishing.

Aras, R. (2020). *The Wall: The Making and Unmaking of the Turkish-Syrian Border.* Palgrave.

Ariès, P. (1974). *Western Attitudes Toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present.* Marion Boyars Book.

Armstrong, D. (1987). Silence and Truth in Death and Dying. *Social Science and Medicine, 24*(8): 651–657.

Arslan, R. (1999). Diyarbakır Kentinin Tarihi ve Bugünkü Konumu. In *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir*, (Eds.) Şevket Beysanoğlu, M. Sabri Koz, Emin Nedret İşli, YKY.

Atim, T., Mazurana, D., & Marshak, A. (2018). Women Survivors and their Children Born of Wartime Sexual Violence in Northern Uganda. *Disasters, 41*(S1), S61-S78. https://doi.org/10.1111/disa.12275

Attali, J. (1985). *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. University of Minnesota Press.

Augé, M. (1999). *Non-Places: Introduction to An Anthropology of Superpostmodernity*. Verso.

Augustine. (1912). *Confessions, Volume II: Books 9-13*. Translated by William Watts. Harvard University Press.

Augustine. (2006). *The confessions of saint Augustine (webster's spanish thesaurus edition)*. ICON classics.

Aydın, D. (2005). Mobilizing the Kurds in Turkey: Newroz as A Myth, [MS Thesis, unpublished – Middle East Technical University: Ankara, Turkey]

Azzam, T. (2013). *Freedom Graffiti* [Photograph]. Syrian Museum, Syria.

Bachelard, G. (2014). *The Poetics of Space*. Penguin Classics.

Bachelard, G. (2016). *The Dialectic of Duration.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Badiou, A. (2001). *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil.* Verso.

Bajalan, D. R. (2013). Early Kurdish "Nationalists" and the Emergence of Modern Kurdish Identity Politics: 1851 to 1908. In *Understanding Turkey's Kurdish Question*, (Eds.) Fevzi Bilgin, Ali Sarihan.

Bargu, B. (2014). *State and Immolate: The Politics of Human Weapons*. Columbia University Press.

Bargu, B. (2017). Bodies against War: Voluntary Human Shielding as a Practice of Resistance. *AJIL Unbound*, 110, 299-304.

Bargu, B. (2019). *Turkey's Necropolitical Laboratory: Democracy, Violence, and Resistance*. Edinburgh University Press.

Barkhuizen, G., Benson, P. & Chik, A. (2014). *Narrative Inquiry in Language Teaching and Learning Research*. Routledge.

Barone, T. & Eisner, E. W. (2012). *Arts Based Research.* SAGE.

Bartov, O. (2000). Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity. Oxford University Press.

Baş, G. (2013). *Diyarbakır'daki İslam Dönemi Mimari Yapılarında Süsleme*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

Batuman, B. (2019). Kentin Suretleri: Mekân ve Görsel Politika. Dipnot Yayınları.

Beckett, S. (1965). *Waiting for Godot*. Publisher.

Bekiroğlu, S. (2016). *Everyday Life and Resistance Practices in F-Type Prisons of Turkey.* [Master's Thesis: Middle East Technical University]

Bekiroğlu, S. & Topal, Ç. (2023). Everyday life and tactical resistance of the political prisoners: the case of F-type prisons in Turkey. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2023.2173142

Benjamin, W. (1996). Critique of violence. In *Selected Writings, volume 1*, Harvard University Press, pp. 249–250.

Benjamin, W. (2003). On the Concept of History. In *Walter Benjamin: selected writings. Vol. 4, 1938-1940*. Harvard University Press.

Benizman, G., Kannai, R., & Ahmad, A. (2012). The Wounded Healer as Cultural Archetype. *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture, 14*(1), https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1927

Berchem, M. V., Strzygowski, J. & Bell, G. L. (1910). *Amida.* Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.

Berdoulay, V. (1978). The Vidal-Durkheim Debate. In *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*, (Eds.) David Ley & Marwyn S. Samuels, Routledge, 77-90.

Berger, G. (2013). Is Clausewitz or Sun Tzu More Relevant to Contemporary War? *E-International Relations*, 1-6.

Berger, J. (2013). *Understanding A Photograph*. Penguin Books.

Berman, M. (1988). *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity.* Penguin.

Berman, M. (1996). Falling Towers City Life After Urbicide. *Geography and Identity*, pp., 172-192.

Berman, R. A. (2015). Geography, Warfare, and the Critique of Liberalism in Carl Schmitt's Land and Sea. In *Land and Sea: A World-Historical Meditation*.

Beşikçi, İ. (2009). Mülkiye ve Mülkiyelilik Üzerine Anılar, Düşünceler. *Mülkiye Dergisi, XXXIII*(265), 127-176.

Bevan, R. (2006). *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*. Reaktion Book.

Beysanoğlu, Ş., Koz, M. S. & İşli, E. N. (1999). Sunuş. In *Diyarbakır: Müze Şehir*, (Eds.) Şevket Beysanoğlu, M. Sabri Koz, Emin Nedret İşli, YKY.

Beysanoğlu, Ş. (2019). *Anıtları ve Kitabeleri ile Diyarbakır Tarihi, vol 3: Cumhuriyet Dönemi.* DİTAV.

BİA Haber Merkezi-Riyad (2016, February 1). *Davutoğlu'dan Kırmızıgül'e: "Merhametimize Herkes Şahit"*. Bianet Bağımsız İletişim Ağı. Retrieved July 14, 2021, from https://m.bianet.org/bianet/print/171667-davutoglu-dan-kirmizigul-e-merhametimize-herkes-sahit

BİA News Desk (2020, December 14). *'Cizre basements will be convicted before the law'*. Bianet Bağımsız İletişim Ağı. Retrieved November 11, 2022, from https://m.bianet.org/english/law/235989-cizre-basements-will-be-convicted-before-the-law

Bickford, L. (2007). Unofficial Truth Projects. *Human Rights Quarterly, 29*, 994–1035.

Binboğa, S. (2013). *Benjaminian Re-reading of the 'Urban Image' at the Verge of the 21st Century.* [Master's Thesis: Middle East Technical University].

Boeckler, M., Engel, U., & Müller-Mahn, D. (2015). Regimes of Territorialization: Territory, Border and Infrastructure in Africa. In *Spatial Practices Territory, Border and Infrastructure in Africa*, (Eds.) Ulf EngelMarc BoecklerDetlev Müller-Mahn.

Boettcher, B. (2021, October 7). *How to Encrypt Files and Folders on Mac [Updated 2020]*. Retrieved November 11, 2022, from https://www.macupdate.com/how-to/encrypt-files-folders-on-mac

Bolkcom, C. & Pike, J. (1993). Attack Aircraft Proliferation: Issues for Concern. *Federation of American Scientists*, available at www.fas.org/spp/aircraft

Boltzmann, L. (1995). *Lectures on gas theory*. Dover Publications.

Bora, T. (2003). Bu Sayıda. *Toplum ve Bilim*, Güz (97): 3-6.

Boutin, A. (2015). *City of Noise: Sound and Nineteenth-Century Paris*. University of Illinois Press.

Bowen, J. (2016, May 23). *Inside Cizre: Where Turkish forces stand accused of Kurdish killings*. BBC News. Retrieved August 23, 2023, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36354742

Boyatzis, R. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*, SAGE.

Braudel, F. (1972). *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, volume:1.* University of California Press.

Boulding, K. E. (1979). The War Industry. *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, *33*(3), 91-100.

Boulding, K. E. (1986). The Economics and the Noneconomics of the World War Industry. *Contemporary Economic Policy, 4*, 12-21.

Bousquet, A. (2012). War. *The Willey-Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology.* Blackwell Publishing.

Bride, B. E. (2007). Prevalence of Secondary Traumatic Stress Among Social Workers. *Social Work, 52*(1), 63-70.

Bride, B. E. & Figley, C. R. (2012). Secondary Traumatic Stress. *Encyclopedia of Trauma: An Interdisciplinary Guide*, 600-602, Thousand Oaks.

Brighenti, M. & Kärrholm, M. (2018). Beyond rhythmanalysis: towards a territoriology of rhythms and melodies in everyday spatial activities. *City Territ Archit, 5*(4). https://doi.org/10.1186/s40410-018-0080-x

Brothers, C. (1997). *War and Photography: A Cultural History.* Routledge.

Brown, B. (2001). Thing Theory. *Critical Inquiry, 28*(1), 1-22.

Brown, W. (2010). *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Zone Books.

Brush, S. G. (1976). Statistical Mechanics and the Philosophy of Science: Some Historical Notes. *PSA: Proceedings of the Biennial Meeting of the Philosophy of Science Association*, 551–584. http://www.jstor.org/stable/192402

Bubner, R. (1978). *German Idealist Philosophy*. Penguin Books.

Buck-Morss, S. (1989). *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project.* The MIT Press.

Butler, J. (1997). *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection.* Stanford University Press.

Butler, J. (2000). *Antigone's Claim: Kinship Between Life & Death*. Columbia University Press.

Butler, J. (2009). *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* Verso.

Buttimer, A. (1978). Charism and Context: The Challenge of La Geographie Humaine. In *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*, (Eds.) David Ley & Marwyn S. Samuels, Routledge, 58-76.

Campbell, D., Graham, S., & Monk, D. B. (2007). Introduction to Urbicide: The Killing of Cities? *Theory & Event, 10*(2).

Cannella, G. S., & Perez, M. S. (2009). Power-Shifting at the Speed of Light: Critical Qualitative Research Post-Disaster. In *Qualitative Inquiry and Social Justice* (Eds.) Norman K. Denzin and Michael D. Giardina.

Carrabine, E. (2018). Traces of Violence: Representing the Atrocities of War. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 1-16.

Ceylan, M. M., Emek, B., & Özdemir, S. (2021, March 18). *Teröristlerin yakıp, yıktığı Sur'u devlet ayağa kaldırdı; hedef 5 milyon turist*. DHA. Retrieved August 16, 2021, from https://www.dha.com.tr/gundem/teroristlerin-yakip-yiktigi-suru-devlet-ayaga-kaldirdi-hedef-5-milyon-turist-1816507

Chamayou, G. (2015). *A theory of the drone*. New Press.

Chang, T. C. & Huang, S. (2005). Recreating Place, Replacing Memory: Creative Destruction at the Singapore River. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *46*(3), 267-280. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8373.2005.00285.x

Chen, Y. (2016). *Practising Rhythmanalysis: Theories and Methodologies*. Rowman & Littlefield International.

Choi, G. Y. (2017). Secondary Traumatic Stress and Empowerment Among Social Workers Working with Family Violence or Sexual Assault Survivors. *Journal of Social Work, 4*(2), 5-7.

Chrostowska, S. D. (2021). *Utopia in the Age of Survival: Between Myth and Politics.* Stanford University Press.

Clark, D. (1994*). The Sociology of Death: Theory, Culture, Practice. Sociological Review Monograph.* Blackwell.

Clark, J. & Martin, C. (2013). *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: Selected Writings of Elisée Reclus.* PM Press.

Cochran, P. A. L., Marshall, C. A., Garcia-Dowling, C., Kendall, E., Cook, D., McCubbin, L., & Gover, M. S. (2008). Indigenous Ways of Knowing: Implications for Participatory Research and Community. *American Journal of Public Health*, *98*, 22-27.

Coker, C. (2003). What Would Sun Tzu Say About the War on Terrorism? *The RUSI Journal, 148*(1), 16-20.

Collison, L. (2020). *The Structures of Authority and Political Use of Religious Practices in Thomas Hobbes and Carl Schmitt*. [Ph.D. Thesis, Kingston University]

Connerton, P. (1989). *How Societies Remember?* Cambridge University Press.

Connerton, P. (2009). *How Modernity Forgets?* Cambridge University Press.

Connoly, T. (2011). *Spectacular Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Mortality and (Un)Representability.* Intellect.

Cooke, M. L. (1994). Method as Ruse: Foucault and Research Method. *Mid-American Review of Sociology, 18(*1/2), 47-65.

Coole, D. (2015). Biopower/Biopolitics. *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought.* Wiley & Sons.

Cooper, D. (2014). Introduction: The Shenandoah Doctrine: Sons, Soldiers, and Service to the Nation. *Motherhood and War International Perspectives*, (eds), Dana Cooper and Claire Phelan, Palgrave Macmillan.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.) SAGE.

Costa, A. P., de Sousa F. N., Moreira, A. & de Souza, D. N. (2017). Research through Design: Qualitative Analysis to Evaluate the Usability. *Computer Supported Qualitative Research*, (eds.) António Pedro Costa, Luís Paulo Reis, Francislê Neri de Sousa, António Moreira, Springer International Publishing, 1-12.

Coulumb, F. (2004). *Economic Theories of Peace and War.* Routledge.

Coward, M. (2004). Urbicide in Bosnia. In Stephen Graham (ed.), *Cities, War, and Terrorism: Towards an Urban Geopolitics*, pp. 154-171.

Coward, M. (2007). Urbicide Reconsidered. *Theory & Event, 10*(2).

Coward, M. (2009). *Urbicide: The politics of urban destruction*. Routledge.

Coward, M. (2017). Crossing the threshold of concern: how infrastructure emerges as an object of security. *Insights, 9*.

Cresswell, T. (2004). *Place: A Short Introduction*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Crinson, M. (2005). "Urban memory: An introduction." *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City*, Mark Crinson (Ed.), Routledge, xi-xx.

Çağbayır, Y. (2017). *Ötüken Osmanlı Türkçesi Sözlüğü.* Ötüken Yayınları.

Çelebi, A. (2010). Şiddete Karşı Siyaset Hakkı. In *Şiddetin Eleştirisi Üzerine*, (Ed.). Aykut Çelebi, Metis Yayınları, 255-312.

Çelebi, A. (2016). Carl Schmitt ve Geniş Mekânlarda Siyaset. In *Siyasal Üzerine Konuşmalar*, (Eds.), Ahmet Okumuş, Metin Demir, Küre Yayınları.

Çelik, A. (2015). Savaş ve Bellek: 1990'ların Zorla Kaybetme Fenomeni Olarak Beyaz Toros. *Toplum ve Kuram*.

Çetin, V. (2014). Toplumu Sindirme Yöntemi Olarak Faili Meçhul Cinayetler ve Kent Baskınları. *Toplum ve Kuram Dergisi, 9,* 147–176.

Dağtekin, E. & Halifeoğlu, S. H. (2019). Evaluation of Diyarbakir Armenian Churches in Lower Mesopotamia Region. *Online Journal of Art and Design, 7*(1), 132-147.

Dakka, F. & Wade, A. (2019). Writing time: A rhythmic analysis of contemporary academic writing. *Higher Education Research & Development*, *38*(1), 185-197. https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2018.1540555

Danil, L. R. (2018). Weapons, Desire and the Making of War: A Lacanian Response. *Critical Studies on Security*, 1-13.

Darder, A., Baltodano, M., & Torres, R. D. (2009). *The Critical Pedagogy Reader*. Routledge.

Davidson, C. (2009). Transcription: Imperatives for Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *8*(2), 36-52.

De Certeau, M. (1984). *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press.

De Certeau, M. (1988). *The Writing of History*. Columbia University Press.

De Landa, M. (2000). *A Thousand Years of Nonlinear History.* Swerve Editions.

De Landa, M. (2002). *Intensive Science and Virtual Philosophy*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Dean, M. (1994). *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology.* Routledge.

Dean, M. (2013). *The Signature of Power: Sovereignty, Governmentality and Biopolitics.* SAGE Publications.

Dear, M., & Flusty, S. (1998). Postmodern Urbanism. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 88*(1), 50–72.

Delbeke, M. (2017). Monuments. *The Companions to the History of Architecture*, Eighteenth-Century Architecture.

Demir, R. (2020). *Savaş ve çatışma ortamında ikincil travmatik stres ile psikolojik dayanıklılık ve algılanan sosyal destek arasındaki ilişkinin incelenmesi.* [Master's Thesis: Üsküdar University].

Demirdağ, A. (2014). *Barış Sürecinin Desteklenmesinde İnsanlıktan Uzaklaştırmanın Etkisi*. [Master's Thesis: Ankara University].

Derrida, J. (1995). *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. University of Chicago Press.

Devecka, M. (2020). *Broken Cities: A Historical Sociology of Ruins*, John Hopkins University Press.

Dikeç, M. (2012). Space as a mode of political thinking. *Geoforum*, 10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.01.008

Dimitriu, G. (2020). Clausewitz and the Politics of War: A Contemporary Theory. *Journal of Strategic Studies, 43*(5), 645-685.

Diyarbakır Valiliği (2015, December 7). *07.12.2015 BASIN DUYURUSU (FATİH PAŞA CAMİİNDE YANGIN)*. Diyarbakır Valiliği Resmi Sitesi. Retrieved March 23, 2021, from http://www.diyarbakir.gov.tr/07122015-basin-duyurusu-fatih-camiinde-yangin

Doğan, Z. (2019). *E Lı Dû Man/Left Behind*. [Installations of Objects] Exhibited at Tate Modern, London.

Doğanışık, M. (2020). *Savaş Hukuku Ve Angajman Kuralları*. [Master's Thesis, İstanbul Medipol University]

Doob, L. W. (1965). Goebbels' Principle of Propaganda. *Public Opinion and Propaganda,* eds. Katz, D. Cartwright, D., Eldersveld, S. and Lee, A. M. 508-522.

Dovzhenko, O. P. (Director). (1929). *Arsenal* [Film]. Odessa Film Factory of VUFKU.

Douglas, S. (2020). Necropolitics. *Political Theology, 21*(8), 754-756.

Drakulic, S. (1993). Falling Down: A Mostar Bridge Elegy. *The New Republic*, 14-15.

Drisko, J. W. & Maschi, T. (2016). *Content Analysis*. Oxford University Press.

Droumeva, M. (2017). Soundmapping as critical cartography: Engaging publics in listening to the environment. *Communication and the Public, 2*, 335 - 351.

Duman, E. (2020). Bir Şiddet Biçimi Olarak Gömülme Hakkının İhlali. In *Ankara Barosu Uluslararasi Hukuk Kurultayı*, *1*, 373-410.

Duman, Y. (2015). *Peace and conflict resolution in the midst of a war: Opportunities and challenges in Rojava democratic autonomy*. [Master's Thesis, Sabancı University].

Durak, Ş. (2014). *Tarihi Çevrelerde Sürdürülebilir Turizm Planlaması: Diyarbakır Tarihi Sur İçi Bölgesi Örneği.* [Master's Thesis, Dicle University].

Durantaye, L. D. la. (2009). *Giorgio Agamben: A critical introduction*. Stanford University Press.

Dyrberg, T. B. (2014). *Foucault on the Politics of Parrhesia*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Eagleton, T. (1981). *Walter Benjamin, or, Towards a revolutionary criticism*. Verso.

Eco, U. (2005). Barış ve Savaş Üzerine Tanımlar. *Evrensel Kültürler Akademisi: Barışı Hayal Etmek*. Metis Yayınları.

Edensor, T. (2005). *Industrial Ruins Spaces, Aesthetics and Materiality.* Berg.

Edensor, T. (2014). Rhythm and Arrhythmia. In *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*, (Eds,) P. Adey, D. Bissell, K. Hannam, P. Merriman and M. Sheller, Routledge.

Edgerton, R. B. (2000). *Warrior Women: The Amazons of Dahomey and the Nature of War.* Westview Press.

Elçi, T. (2015). Tahir Elçi'nin son konuşması. *DemokratHaber* 28 November 2015: https://www.demokrathaber.org/guncel/tahir-elcinin-son-konusmasi-h57926.html

Eldem, E. (2007). Önsöz. In *Ulus ve Harabeleri Yunanistan'da Antikite, Arkeoloji ve Ulusal İmgelem*, İletişim Yayınları.

Elias, N. (1981). Violence and Civilization: The state Monopoly of Physical Violence and its Infringements. *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*. J. Keane (Ed.), Verso.

Eliassen, K. (2010). Archives of Michel Foucault. *The Archive in Motion: New Conceptions of the Archive in Contemporary Thought and New Media Practices*. Ed. Røssaak, E., Novus Press.

Elden, S. (2004). Rhythmanalysis: An Introduction. In *Rhythmanalysis Space, Time and Everyday Life*, pp. vii-xv.

Elphinston, W. G. (1946). The Kurdish Question. *International Affairs, 22*(1), 91-103.

Engels, F. (2006). Selections From 'The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844.' *Organization & Environment, 19*(3), 389–402. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26162421

Enginün, İ. & Kerman, Z. (2020). *Günlüklerin Işığında Tanpınar'la Baş Başa*. Dergâh Yayınları.

Emmison, M. & Smith, P. (2007). *Researching the Visual: Images, Objects, Contexts and Interactions in Social and Cultural Inquiry.* SAGE.

Ergenç, A. (2020). What does Zehra Doğan Want?. Retrieved from: http://www.kedistan.net/2020/10/24/ahmet-ergenc-what-does-zehra-dogan-want/ (Access date:24 October 2020)

Erginbaş, D. (1977). *Diyarbakır Evleri - Diyarbakır Houses.* İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Mimarlık Tarihi ve Restorasyon Enstitüsü.

Ergur, A. (2003). Üniversitenin Pazarla Bütünleşmesi Sürecinde Akademik Dünyanın Dönüşümü. *Toplum ve Bilim*, Güz (97): 183-216.

Eroğlu, S. (2011). Beyond the resources of poverty: Gecekondu living in the Turkish capital. Taylor & Francis Group.

Esposito, R. (2008). *Bios: Biopolitics and Philosophy.* University of Minnesota Press.

Esposito, R. (2011). Immunitas: The Protection and Negation of Life. Polity.

Esposito, R. (2015). *Categories of the Impolitical.* Fordham University Press.

Etil, H. (2017). Carl Schmitt'in Partizan Teorisi. *Partizan Teorisi,* Nika Yayınevi.

Etöz, Z. (2013). Diyarbakır Yangınları 1895, 1914. *Diyarbakır Tebliğleri, Diyarbakır ve Çevresi Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Tarihi Konferansı*, 262-267, Hrant Dink Vakfı Yayınlar.

Farrokhzad, F. (2007). Reborn. In *Sin*, The University of Arkansas Press.

Featherstone, M. (2006). Archive. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*(2–3), 591–596.

Ferraro, R. (2007). *Einstein's Space-Time An Introduction to Special and General Relativity*. Springer.

Ferretti, F. (2018). Anarchy and Geography: Reclus and Kropotkin in the UK. Routledge.

Fırat, M. Ş. (1961). *Doğu İlleri ve Varto Tarihi.* Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Forensic Architecture, (2023). Agency. Source: https://forensic-architecture.org/about/agency Access date: 03.01.2023

Foucault, M. (1966). *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, *8*(4), 777-795.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The History of Sexuality: Volume One, An Introduction.* Robert Hurley trans. Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Alan Sheridan trans. Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1997). What Is Critique? In: Sylvere Lotringer and Lysa Hochroth (ed.), *The Politics of Truth*, Semiotext(e), pp. 23–82.

Foucault, M. (2003). *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College de France 1975–1976.* Picador.

Foucault, M. (2007). *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977–1978.* Palgrave.

Foucault, M. (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France 1978–1979.* Palgrave.

Foucault, M. (2008). Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the College de France 1973–1974. Palgrave.

Foucault, M. (2019). '*Discourse and Truth', and Parrhesia'.* University of Chicago Press.

Francisco, J. (2005). War Photography. In *The Encyclopedia of Twentieth Century Photography*, Routledge.

Frauke, B. (2018). Soundwalking. *The Routledge Companion to Sound Studies*.

Fregonese, S. (2019). *War and the City: Urban Geopolitics in Lebanon*. I. B. Tauris.

Frost, N. (2011). *Qualitative Research Methods in Psychology*. McGraw Hill.

Fujii, L. A. (2010). Shades of Truth and Lies: Interpreting Testimonies of War and Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, *47*(2), 231-241.

Fulton, R. (1965). *Death and Identity*. Wiley.

Füssel, M. (2013). Tote Orte und gelebte Räume. Zur Raumtheorie von Michel de Certeau. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung, 38*(3), 22-39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23644523

Gabriel, A. (2014). *Şarki Türkiye'de Arkeolojik Geziler*. Dipnot Yayınları.

Galton, F. (1904). Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims. *American Journal of Sociology.*

Galula, D. (1964). *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice.* Praeger Security International, Westport, CT.

Gerlofs, B. A. (2023). *Monstrous Politics Geography, Rights, and the Urban Revolution in Mexico City.* Vanderbilt University Press.

Goldstein, J. S. (2001). War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa. Cambridge University Press.

Goodhand, J. (2000). Research in conflict zones: ethics and accountability. *Forced Migration Review.*

Goonewardena, K. (2019). Monument. Keywords in Radical Geography*, Antipode.* https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119558071.ch34

Gordillo, G. R. (2014). *Rubble: The Afterlife of Destruction.* Duke University Press.

Gottdiener, M. (1994). Beyond Marxian Political Economy: The Trinity Formula and the Analysis of Space. *The Social Production of Urban Space*, the University of Texas Press, pp. 157-194. https://doi.org/10.7560/727724-007

Gökçe, M. (2020). Biçim Gramerinin Günümüz Tasarim Diline Dönüşümü Bağlaminda Geleneksel Diyarbakir Evlerinin İncelenmesi. [Diyarbakır: Dicle University].

Göre, D. (2017). *Mimarlıkta Mekân, Zaman ve Beden Sarkacında Ritimanaliz.* [Master's Thesis: İstanbul Bilgi University].

Graham, S. (2002). Bulldozers and Bombs: The Latest Palestinian–Israeli Conflict as Asymmetric Urbicide. *Antipode, 34*(4), 642-649. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00259

Graham, S. (2004). Cities as Strategic Sites: Place Annihilation and Urban Geopolitics. In *Cities, War, and Terrorism: Towards and Urban Geopolitics*, Stephen Graham (Ed.), 31- 53, Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Graham, S. (2007). Demodernizing by Design: Everyday Infrastructure and Political Violence. In Violent Geographies: Fear, Terror, and Political Violence, (Eds.) Derek Gregory and Allan Pred, pp. 309-328.

Graham, S. (2010). *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*. Verso.

Graham, S. (2016). *Vertical: The City from Satellites to Bunkers.* Verso.

Gray, C. H. (1997). *Postmodern War: The New Politics of Conflict*. The Guilford Press.

Green, M. W. (1984). The Uruk Lament. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, *104*(2), 253–279. https://doi.org/10.2307/602171

Gregory, D. (2004). *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq*. Wiley-Blackwell

Gregory, D. (2010). War and peace. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 35*, 154-186. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2010.00381.x

Gregory, D. (2016). The Natures of War. *Antipode, 48*, 3– 56. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12173

Grigg, S. (1991). Archival Practice and the Foundations of Historical Method. *The Journal of American History, 78*(1), 228–239.https://doi.org/10.2307/2078095

Gržinić, M. & Tatlić, Š. (2014). Necropolitics, Racialization, and Global Capitalism. *Historicization of Biopolitics and Forensics of Politics, Art, and Life.* Lexington Books.

Guenther, L. (2011). Resisting Agamben: The Biopolitics of Shame and Humiliation. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 1-21.

Gül, İ. (2014). *Tarih ve Beşeri Coğrafya Bağlamında Cizre İlçesinde Sosyal Yapıda Değişme ve Modernleşme*. [Ph.D. Thesis: Istanbul University].

Güneş, C. (2012). Unblocking the Impasse in Turkey's Kurdish Question. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice, 24*(4), 462-469. https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2012.732449

Güngördü, F. N. (2021). *Refugee Emplacement in Urban Areas: The Multi-Scalar Mobility Patterns and Location Choices of Syrian Refugees in Izmir, Turkey.* [Ph.D. Thesis: Middle East Technical University].

Gürbilek, N. (2012). Önsöz. In *Son Bakışta Aşk: Walter Benjamin'den Seçme Yazılar*, (Ed.) Nurdan Gürbilek, Metis Yayınları.

Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The Collective Memory*. Harper & Row.

Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. University of Chicago Press.

Hall, S. (1991). Reconstruction work: images of post-war black settlement. J. Spence and P. Holland (eds), *The Meanings of Domestic Photography*. Virago.

Hamilton, M. (2008). Compasssion fatigue: what school counsellors should know about secondary traumatic stres. *The Alberta Counsellor, 30*(1), 9-21.

Han, B. (2017). *Topology of Violence.* MIT Press.

Hanafi, S. (2005). Spacio-cide and Bio-Politics: The Israeli Colonial Conflict from 1947 to the Wall. In *Against the Wall: Israeli's Barrier to Peace*, (Ed.) Michael Sorkin.

Handel, M. (2005). *Masters of War: Classical Strategic Thought*. Taylor and Francis.

Haraway, D. J. (2008). *When Species Meet.* University of Minnesota Press.

Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire: The New World Order.* Harvard University Press.

Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2004). *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire.* Penguin.

Harmanşah, Ö. (2013). *Cities and the Shaping of Memory in the Ancient Near East*. Cambridge University Press.

Harper, S. (2010). The Social Agency of Dead Bodies. *Mortality, 15*(4), 308-322.

Harris, C. (2004). The Photograph Reincarnate: The Dynamics of Tibetan Relationships with Photography. In Edwards, Elizabeth and Janice Hart (eds.), *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, Routledge, 139-155.

Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism. *Human Geography, 71*(1): 3-17.

Harvey, D. (2003). *Paris: Capital of Modernity*, Routledge.

Harvey, D. (2006). Neo-Liberalism as Creative Destruction. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography, 88*(2), 145–158. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3878384

Has, İ. (2022). *Glocal Securitization of Urban Space in Turkey.* Kalkedon.

Hasson, S. (1993). *Urban Social Movements in Jerusalem: The Protest of the Second Generation*. State University of New York Press.

Hawkins, D. E. & Rajagopal, S. (2005). *Sun Tzu and the Project Battleground: Creating Project Strategy from 'the Art of War'*. Palgrave, Macmillan.

Heathcote, E. (2005). Call this civilization? Financial Times, 19 August. http://www.archiseek.com/content/showthread.php?t=4236

Hegel, G.W. F. (1977). *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Trans., A. V. Miller, Oxford University Press.

Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and Time*. Harper & Row.

Heidegger, M. (1971). *Poetry, Language, Thought*. Harper & Row.

Heidegger, M. (1992). *The Concept of Time*. John Wiley & Sons.

Heintschel von Heinegg, W., Frau, R. & Singer, T. (2018). Introduction. In Heintschel von Heinegg, W., Frau, R., Singer, T. (eds) *Dehumanization of Warfare*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-67266-3_1

Herscher, A. (2008). Warchitectural Theory. *Journal of Architectural Education, 61*(3), 35-43. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1531-314X.2007.00167.x

Hewitt, K. (1983). Place Annihilation: Area Bombing and the Fate of Urban Places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 73*(2), 257–84.

Hewitt, K. (1987). The Social Space of Terror: Towards A Civil Interpretation of Total War. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 5,* 445–74.

Hewitt, K. (2003). The Security Syndrome: Vulnerable Citizens, 'First Responders' and the Terror Connection. *Mimeo.*

Hewsen, R. H. (2006). Armenia on the Tigris: The Vilayet of Diarbekir and the Sanjak of Urfa. *Armenian Tigranakert/Diarbekir and Edessa/Urfa*, 47-80, Mazda Publishers.

Hiçdurmaz, D., & İnci, F. (2015). Compassion Fatigue: Description, Causes and Prevention. *Current Approaches in Psychiatry, 7*(3), 295-303.

Hirst, P. (1999). Carl Schmitt's Decisionism. *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt*, eds. Chantal Mouffe, Verso.

Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (Eds.) (1983). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. (1993). The New Threat to History. *New York Times Review of Books*. Access Date: 27 June 2021 https://www.osaarchivum.org/blog/the-new-threat-to-history

Hofer, P. (1967). Introduction to the Dover Edition. *The Disasters of War*, Dover Publications. (Digital Copy)

Holbraad, M., Kapferer, B. & Saum, J. F. (2019). Introduction: Critical Ruptures. *Ruptures Anthropologies of Discontinuity in Times of Turmoil*, (Eds.) Martin Holbraad, Bruce Kapferer and Julia F. Sauma.

Hovannisian, R. G. (2006). Armenian Tigranakert/Diarbekir and Edessa/Urfa. *Armenian Tigranakert/Diarbekir and Edessa/Urfa*, 1-46, Mazda Publishers.

Howarth, G. (2001). Corpse. In G. Howarth & O. Leaman (Eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Death and Dying*, pp. 119–121, Routledge.

Howarth, G. (2007). *Death and Dying: A Sociological Introduction.* Polity Press.

Hölling, H. (2015). The Archival Turn: Toward New Ways of Conceptualising Changeable Artworks. *Acoustic Space, 14*, 73-88.

Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory.* Stanford University Press.

International Crisis Group (2023, July 6). *Türkiye's PKK Conflict: A Visual Explainer*. https://www.crisisgroup.org/content/turkiyes-pkk-conflict-visual-explainer#14

Işık, İ. (Ed.) (2013). *Diyarbakır Ansiklopedisi*. Yelkovan Ajans.

Işık, N. & Halifeoğlu, F. M. (2017). Tarihi Diyarbakır Kiliselerinde Taşıyıcı Sistemi Etkileyen Gözleme Dayalı Hasarlar ve Nedenleri. *Dicle Üniversitesi Mühendislik Fakültesi Dergisi*, *8*(2), 293-306.

Jacobs, A. B. (1993). *Great Streets.* The MIT Press.

Jacobs, J. (1992). *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Vintage.

Jäger, S. (2001). Discourse and Knowledge: Theoretical and Methodological aspects of A Critical Discourse and Dispositive Analysis. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, SAGE Publications.

JAMA (1965). Of Autopsies. *191*(13), 1078-1079.

James, I. (2007). *Paul Virilio.* Routledge.

Jameson, F. (2011). *Brecht and Method.* New York.

Jaret, C. (1983). Recent Neo-Marxist Urban Analysis. *Annual Review of Sociology, 9*, 499- 525.

Jimerson, R. C. (2003). Archives and Memory. *OCLC Systems & Services: International Digital Library Perspectives, 19*(3), 89–95. https://doi.org/10.1108/10650750310490289

Jongerden, J. (2007). *The Settlement Issue in Turkey and the Kurds: An Analysis of Spatial Policies, Modernity and War.* Brill.

Joyce, P. (2002). Maps, Blood and the City: the governance of the social in nineteenth-century Britain. In P. Joyce (ed.), *The Social in Question: new bearings in history and the social sciences*, Routledge, pp. 97–114.

Kaefer, F., Roper, J., & Sinha, P. (2015). A software-assisted qualitative content analysis of news articles: Example and reflections. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung, 16*(2).

Kaldor, M. (2012). *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in A Global Era*. Polity Press.

Kandiyoti, D. (2000). Slave Girls, Temtresses, and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish Novel. *Women and Sexuality in Muslim Societies*, (ed.) Pınar İlkkaracan, 91-106.

Kaplan, S. (2022). *Post-Conflict Memorialization in Turkey and the Role of Civil Society.* [Master's Thesis: Marmara University].

Karaaslan, M. (2018). Diyarbakır Suriçi Bölgesinin Yeniden İnşası ve Hukuksal Boyutu. *Dicle Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi, 23*(39), 335-373.

Karademir, D. (2014). *Cizre İlçesi Yerleşmeleri* [Master's Thesis: Harran University].

Kardeş, E. (2019). *Yönsüzleşmiş Savaşlar: Politik Felsefenin Bir Sınır Meselesi Olan Savaşa Dair*. Pinhan Yayıncılık.

Kardeş, E. (2022). Özgürlüğün Uğrakları: Henri Lefebvre'in Metafelsefesi. In *Kavramlar Tarihi: Özgürlük*, (Eds.) Armağan Öztürk and Cengiz Çevik.

Kardeş, E. (2023). Kolektif Fantazmagorilerin Politik İmkanları: Walter Benjamin, Kent ve Paris. In *Enkaz ve Parıltı: Walter Benjamin ile Disiplinlerarası Bir Soruşturma*, (Eds.) İlkay Özküralpli and Meriç Kükrer.

Katznelson, I. (1992). *Marxism and the City.* Clarendon Press.

Kayan, A. (2019). Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Diyarbakır Sur Örneği. *Uluslararası Yönetim İktisat ve İşletme Dergisi, 15*(3), 758-782.

Kaymaz, E. (2010). *Türkiye'nin Kürt Sorununa Yaklaşımında Değişim (1990-2010).* [Master's Thesis: Sakarya University].

Kearl, M. K. (1989). *Endings: A Sociology of Death and Dying*. Oxford University Press.

Kejanlı, D. T. & Dinçer, İ. (2011). Diyarbakır Kale Kenti'nde Koruma ve Planlama Sorunları. *Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, *6*(2) 95-108.

Kellner, D. (1999). "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections". *Theory, Culture and Society 16*(5–6): 103–125.

Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R. & Nixon, R. (2014). *The Action Research Planner: Doing Critical Participatory Action Research*. Springer.

Kephart, W. M. (1950). Status after Death. *American Sociological Review, 15*, 635–643.

Kertesz, I. (2001). Who Owns Auschwitz?. *The Yale Journal of Criticism, 14*(1), 267-272.

Kılıçaslan, G. (2015). Generational differences in political mobilization among Kurdish forced migrants: The case of Istanbul's Kanarya Mahallesi. In *The Kurdish Issue in Turkey: A Spatial Perspective*, (Eds.) Zeynep Gambetti & Joost Jongerden.

Kibar, Z. M. (2017). *20 Yılda İkinci Kez Yerinden Edilmenin Hafızaya ve Teritorya Tasavvuruna Etkisi: Sur Örneği*. [Master's Thesis, Mimar Sinan University].

Kipfer, S. (2008). "How Lefebvre Urbanized Gramsci: Hegemony, Everyday Life, and Difference". *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*, 193-211.

Kipfer, S., Saberi, P. & Wieditz, T. (2012). Henri Lefebvre: Debates and Controversies. *Progress in Human Geography, 37*(1), 115-134.

Kirişçi, K. (2011). The Kurdish Issue in Turkey: Limits of European Union Reform. *South European Society & Politics, 16*(2):335-349.

Klein, N. (2007). *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism.* Metropolitan Books.

Klima, A. (2002). *The Funeral Casino: Meditation, Massacre, and Exchange with the Dead in Thailand.* Princeton University Press.

Klimt, G. (1908). *Kiss* [Oil on Canvas]. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna, Austria.

Kolb, M. J. (2020). *Making Sense of Monuments: Narratives of Time, Movement, and Scale*. Routledge.

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. SAGE.

Kuban, D. (1995). *Türk "Hayat"lı Evleri*. MTR.

Kurban, D. & Yegen, M. (2012). *Adaletin Kıyısında: 'Zorunlu' Göç Sonrasında Devlet ve Kürtler- 5233 Sayılı Tazminat Yasası'nın bir Değerlendirmesi- Van örneği.* https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.4068.3600

Kurban, D., Yükseker, D., & Çelik, A. B. (Eds.). (2008). 'Zorunlu Göç' ile Yüzleşmek: Türkiye'de Yerinden Edilme Sonrası Vatandaşlığın İnşası. TESEV yayınları.

Kürüm, Ş. (2012). *Mourning for the disappeared: The case of the saturday mothers* [Master's Thesis, İstanbul Şehir University].

Lacan, J. (1991). Desire, Life and Death. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan, Book II: The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis*, 1954 – 1955.

LaCapra, D. (1997). The Historians' Debate. *The Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought in German Culture,* eds. Sander L. Gilman and Jack Zipes, Yale University Press.

Lacoste, Y. (2014). *Coğrafya Her Şeyden Önce Savaş Yapmaya Yarar*. Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Latour, B. (1994). On Technical Mediation – Philosophy, Sociology, Genealogy'. *Common Knowledge 3*(2): 29–64.

Latour, B. (1993*). We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard University Press.

Lawrence, P. K. (1997). *Modernity and War: The Creed of Absolute Violence.* MacMillan Press LTD.

Lefebvre, H. (1996). *The Production of Space*. Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (2003). *The Urban Revolution*. University of Minnesota Press.

Lefebvre, H. (2004). *Rhythmanalysis Space, Time and Everyday Life.* Continuum.

Lefebvre, H. (2009). *State, Space, World: Selected Essays.* University of Minnesota Press.

Lee, S. T. & Maslog, C. C. (2005). War or Peace Journalism? Asian Newspaper Coverage of Conflicts. *Journal of Communication*, 311-329.

Lemke, T. (2002). Foucault, Governmentality, Critique. *Rethinking Marxism, 14*(3), 49–64.

Lemke, T. (2011). *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction.* NYU Press.

Lemke, T. (2017). Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri on 'Postmodern Biopolitics'. *The Routledge Handbook of Biopolitics*, (Eds.) Sergei Prozorov and Simona Rentea, Routledge.

Levy, J. S. & Thompson, W. R. (2010). *Causes of War.* Blackwell Publishing.

Levy-Landesberg, H. (2021). Sound and the city: rethinking spatial epistemologies with urban sound maps. *Sound Studies, 8*, 20 - 42.

Liang, Q. & Xiangsui, W. (2017). *Unrestricted Warfare: China's Master Plan to Destroy America.* Shadow Lawn Press.

Lind, W. S., Nightengale, K., Schmitt, J. F., Suttonn J. W. & Wilson, G. I. (1989). The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation. *Marine Corps Gazette*, 22-26.

Lind, W. S. (2004). Understanding Fourth Generation War. *Military Review,* 12-16.

Linfield, S. (2010). *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence*. University of Chicago Press.

Loveless, S. (2020). Tactical Soundwalking in the City: A Feminist Turn from Eye to Ear. *Leonardo Music Journal, 30*, 99-103.

Lyon, D. (2004). Technology versus Terrorism: Circuits of City Surveillance Since September 11, 2001. *Cities, War and Terrorism.*

Mahan, A. T. (1902). The Persian Gulf and International Relations. *National Review.*

Malešević, S. (2010a). *The Sociology of War and Violence.* Cambridge University Press.

Malešević, S. (2010b). How Pacifist Were the Founding Fathers?: War and Violence in Classical Sociology. In *European Journal of Social Theory, 13*(2), 193-212.

Mandıracı, B. (2016). Turkey's KWP Conflict: The Death Toll. International Crisis Group. Retrieved from: https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/turkey-s-KWP-conflict-death-toll

Marcus, S. (2001). Haussmannization as Anti-Modernity: The Apartment House in Parisian Urban Discourse, 1850-1880. *Journal of Urban History, 27*(6), 723–745. https://doi.org/10.1177/009614420102700603

Marion, E. (2006). The Nazi Genocide and the Writing of the Holocaust Aporia: Ethics and Remnants of Auschwitz. *MLN*, 121(4), 1009-1022.

Martel, J. R. (2012). *Divine Violence: Walter Benjamin and the Eschatology of Sovereignty*. Routledge.

Marx, K. (1972). The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. Progress Publishers.

Marx, K. (1976). *Capital, vol. 1*. Penguin.

Marx, K. & Elster J. (1986). *Karl Marx: A Reader*. Cambridge University.

Maschi, T. (2016). *Applying a Human Rights Approach to Social Work Research and Evaluation: A Rights Research Manifesto.* Springer.

Mbembe, A. (2005). Necropolitics, *Public Culture, 15*(1), 11–40.

Mbembe, A. (2019). *Necropolitics.* Trans. By Steven Corcoran, Duke University Press.

McFalls, L. & Pandolfi, M. (2014). Parrhesia and Therapeusis: Foucault on and in the World of Contemporary Neoliberalism. *Foucault Now*, 168-187.

McSorley, K. (2013). *War and the Body: Militarisation, Practice and Experience*. Routledge.

McTaggart, J. E. (1908). The Unreality of Time. *Mind, New Series, 17*(68), pp. 457-474.

Meharg, S. J. (2011). Restoration and Reconstruction for Environmental Security. In *Warfare Ecology: A New Synthesis for Peace and Security,* (Eds.) Gary E. Machlis, Thor Hanson and Zdravko Špirić.

Merewether, C. (2006). *The Archive*. Whitechapel.

Merrifield, A. (2006). *Henri Lefebvre: a Critical Introduction*. Taylor and Francis.

Merrifield, A. (2014). *The New Urban Question.* PlutoPress.

[Mezopotamya Ajansı]. (2022, September 1). *CENAZESİ KUTUNUN İÇİNDE TESLİM EDİLEN HAKAN ARSLAN'IN BABASI YAŞADIKLARINI ANLATTI* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ne5c11WS5FE

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis.* SAGE Publications.

Mills, C. W. (1958). *The Causes of World War Three*. Simon and Schuster

Minshull, R. (2013). *The Changing Nature of Geography*. Routledge Library Editions: Social and Cultural Geography.

Mischler, E. (1991). Representing Discourse: The Rhetoric of Transcription. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, *1*(4), 255–280.

Misztal, B. A. (2003). Durkheim on Collective Memory. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, *3*(2), 123-143.

Morton, S. & Bygrave, S. (2008). *Foucault in an Age of Terror Essays on Biopolitics and the Defence of Society.* Palgrave.

Miyahara, M. (2015). *Emerging Self-Identities and Emotion in Foreign Language Learning: A Narrative-Oriented Approach.* Bristol, Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783093823

Murvar, V. (1966). Some Tentative Modifications of Weber's Typology: Occidental versus Oriental City. *Social Forces, 44*(3), 381–389. https://doi.org/10.2307/2575839

Nalçaoğlu, H. (2020). Vatan: Toprakların Altı, Üstü ve Ötesi. *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Milliyetçilik*, İletişim Yayınları.

Nohrstedt, S. A. (2016). The Role of Media in the Discursive Constructions of Wars. *The Handbook of International Crisis Communication Research*, (eds.) Andreas Schwarz, Matthew W. Seeger, and Claudia Auer.

Nardo, D. (2016). *Weapons of War.* Ebtekar.

Nasir, M. A. (2016). Biopolitics, Thanatopolitics and The Right to Life. *Theory, Culture & Society,* 1-21.

Narvaez, P. (2003). *Of Corpse: Death and Humor and Popular Culture.* Utah State University Press.

Nelson, B. (1976). On Orient and Occident in Max Weber. *Social Research, 43*(1), 114–129. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40970216

Nora, P. (1996). General Introduction: Between Memory and History. In: Nora P. and Kritzman L. D. (eds) *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past.* Columbia University Press, pp. 1–20.

Nora, P. (2006). *Hafıza Mekânları*. Dost Kitabevi.

Norberg-Schulz, C. (1985). *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture.* Rizzoli

Nordstrom, C. (1991). Women and war: observations from the field. *Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military, 9*.

Nordstrom, C. (2004). *Shadows of War Violence, Power, and International Profiteering in the Twenty-First Century.* University of California Press.

Norris, C. (2012). The Success of Failure: Accounting for the Global Growth of CCTV. *Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies*, 251-258, Routledge.

Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as Theory. *Developmental Pragmatics*, (eds.) E. Ochs and B. B Schiefflin, Academic, 43–72.

Ojakangas, M. (2016). *On the Greek Origins of Biopolitics: A Reinterpretation of the History of Biopower.* Routledge.

Olick, J. K. (1999). Collective memory: The two cultures. *Sociological theory, 17*(3), 333-348.

Olick, J. K., & Robbins, J. (1998). Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices. *Annual Review of Sociology, 24*(1), 105–140. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.105

Ollman, B. (2003). *Dance of the Dialectic: Steps in Marx's Method.* The University of Illinois Press.

Olson, A. M. (1984). The Shape of Modern French and German Philosophy [Review of *Modern French Philosophy; Modern German Philosophy*, by V. Descombes, L. Scott-Fox, J. M. Harding, R. Bubner, & E. Matthews]. *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion, 15*(3), 173–179. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40024976

O'Neill, K. L. J. (2007). *Subsistence commodification struggles and genocide in Rwanda: Gendered, ethnicized identities in the political economy of coffee.* [Master's Thesis: The University of Guelph]. https://hdl.handle.net/10214/22487

Osborne, J. F. (2017). Counter-Monumentality and the Vulnerability of Memory. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, *17*(2), 163-187. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469605317705445

Özyetiş, E. (2018). Nusaybin'i Konuşmaya Başlamak: Yıkım, İnşa ve Bellek. *Çatışma, Planlama, Tasarım*, 32–51.

Park, R. (1984). The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment. In *The City*, pp. 1-46.

Parker, S. (2004). *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience: Encountering the City.* Routledge.

Parla, C. (2005). Diyarbakır Surları ve Kent Tarihi. *ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi, 1*(22) 57-84.

Parla, C. (2012). Surları ve Türk Dönemi Dokusuyla Diyarbakır Kenti. https://www.ayk.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/PARLA-Canan-SURLARI-VE-TÜRK-DÖNEMİ-DOKUSUYLA-DİYARBAKIR-KENTİ.pdf

Parla, T. (2009). *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm*. Deniz Yayınları.

Paulter, J. (2018). The Discursive Reconstruction of Memory and National Identity: The Anti-War Memorial the Island of Ireland Peace Park. *Memory Studies*, *11*(2), 191-208. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698016688240

Payaslı-Oğuz, G., & Halifeoğlu, F. M. (2017). Geleneksel Diyarbakır Evlerinde Yapım Tekniği ve Malzemede Koruma Sorunları. *Dicle Üniversitesi Mühendislik Fakültesi Mühendislik Dergisi* (412), 345–357.

Peerbolte, B. J. L. (2018). Introduction. In *Parrhesia: Ancient and Modern Perspectives on Freedom of Speech*.

Pınar, F. (2016, March 2). *Cizre – In the Basement of the Apartment Building Number 23*. Retrieved August 23, 2023, from http://platform24.org/en/objective/355/cizre---in-the-basement-of-the-apartment-building-number-23

Pichot, A. (2009). *The Pure Society from Darwin to Hitler.* Verso.

Pile, S. (1996). *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space and Subjectivity*. Routledge.

Portelli, A. (1991). *The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. State University of New York Press.

Porter, H. (2019). Moral Spaces and Sexual Transgression: Understanding Rape in War and Post Conflict. *Development and Change, 50*(4), 1009-1032.

Procházková, A. (2018). Henry Lefebvre's Rhythmanalysis as a Tool for Comprehensive Listening of the City. *Musicologica Brunensia*, 97-104.

Prozorov, S. (2013). Living Ideas and Dead Bodies: The Biopolitics of Stalinism. *Alternatives, 38*(3), 208–227.

Prozorov, S. (2017). Biopolitics and Socialism: Foucault, Agamben, Esposito. *The Routledge Handbook of Biopolitics*, (Eds.) Sergei Prozorov and Simona Rentea, Routledge.

Puwar, N. (2009). Sensing a post-colonial Bourdieu: an introduction. *Sociological Review, 57*(3), 371–384.

Pyyhtinen, O. & Tamminen, S. (2011). We Have Never Been Only Human: Foucault and Latour on the Question of the Anthropos. *Anthropological Theory, 11*(2), 135–152. https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499611407398

Ray, C. (1991). *Time, Space and Philosophy*. Routledge.

Redmalm, D. (2019). To Make Pets Live, and To Let Them Die: The Biopolitics of Pet Keeping. *Death Matters: Cultural Sociology of Mortal Life*, (eds.) Tora Holmberg, Annika Jonsson, Fredrik Palm. Palgrave.

Reid, J. (2013). *The Biopolitics of the War on Terror: Life Struggles, Liberal Modernity, and the Defence of Logistical Societies.* Manchester University Press.

Reid-Musson, E. (2017). Intersectional Rhythmanalysis: Power, Rhythm, and Everyday Life. *Progress in Human Geography 42* (6), 881–97. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132517725069

Reynolds, D. (2016). Consumers or witnesses? Holocaust tourists and the problem of authenticity. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 16*(2) 334–353. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540516635396

Ricoeur, P. (1978). The Metaphorical Process as Cognition, Imagination, and Feeling. *Critical Inquiry, 5*(1), 143–159. https://doi.org/10.1086/447977

Riles, A. (Ed.). (2006). *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge*. University of Michigan Press.

Ringer, F. (1994). Max Weber on the origins and character of the Western city. *Critical Quarterly, 36*: 12-18. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8705.1994.tb00530.x

Robinson, C. M. (1914). The Sociology of a Street Layout. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 51*, pp. 192-99. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1012263

Romano, D. (2006). Conducting Research in the Middle East's Conflict Zones. *Political Science & Politics, 39*(3), 439-441. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20451780

Rose, G. (2016). *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. SAGE.

Rose, N. (2006). *The Politics of Life Itself.* Princeton University Press.

Røssaak, E. (2010). *The Archive in Motion: New Conceptions of the Archive in Contemporary Thought and New Media Practices*. Novus Press.

Roth, G. (1984). Max Weber's Ethics and the Peace Movement Today. *Theory and Society, 13*(4), 491–511. http://www.jstor.org/stable/657232

Roth, M. S. (1997). Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed. In *Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed*, (Eds.) Michael S. Roth, Claire Lyons and Charles Merewether, 1 – 23. The Getty Research Institute.

Rouse, C. M. (2021). Necropolitics versus Biopolitics: Spatialization, White Privilege, and Visibility During A Pandemic. *Cultural Anthropology, 36*(3), 360-367. https://doi.org/10.14506/ca36.3.03

Rousseau, J. J. (2004). *A Discourse upon the Origin and the Foundation of the Inequality among Mankind*. Gutenberg Ebook.

Saldaña, J. (2011). *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research: Understanding Qualitative Research*. Oxford University Press.

Sami, K. (2017) Diyarbakır Tarihi Suriçi: Kentsel, Mekânsal ve Toplumsal Yaşamda Renkleri Yok Olan Kültürel Miras. *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, *10*(53), 391-400.

Samuels, M. S. (1978). Existentialism and Human Geography. In *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*, (Eds.) David Ley & Marwyn S. Samuels, Routledge, 22-40.

Sancar, M. (2015). *Geçmişle Hesaplaşma: Unutma Kültüründen Hatırlama Kültürüne*. İletişim Yayınları.

Sánchez, R., & Pita, B. (2021). *Spatial and Discursive Violence in the US Southwest*. Duke University Press.

Sark, K. (2008). Fashion Among Ruins: From Trümmerfrau to Modefrau- Fashion in Berlin 1945-46. *Berlin's Culturescapes in the Twentieth Century*, University of Regina, 113-128.

[Sat5 Production]. (2016, April 26). *Sat5 - Yalnızım Atam (SUR ŞEHİTLERİMİZ ANISINA)* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1k_CQb5X8-4

Saunders, P. (1986). *Social Theory and the Urban Question*. Routledge.

Savage, M., & Warde, A. (1993). *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity*. Red Globe Press London.

Sayın, Z. (2021). *Ölüm Terbiyesi*. Metis Yayınları.

Schinkel, W. (2010). *Aspects of Violence: A Critical Theory*. Palgrave.

Schotten, C. H. (2015). Against Totalitarianism: Agamben, Foucault, and the Politics of Critique. *Foucault Studies*, 155-179.

Schwartz, J. M., & Cook, T. (2002). Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory. *Archival Science, 2*(1-2), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435628

Schwartz-Shea, P., & Yanow, D. (2012). *Interpretive Research Design: Concepts and Processes.* Routledge Series on Interpretive Methods, Routledge.

Seamon, D., & Mugerauer, R. (1985). *Dwelling, Place and Environment towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Semple, M. (2013). Afghanistan: The First Theater of the War. In *Assessing the War on Terror*, (Eds.) Mohammed Ayoob and Etga Ugur, Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Sennett, R. (1996). *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization.* W. W. Norton & Company.

Sevinç, M. (2019). Bir Hafıza Mekânı Olarak Kent Meydanı ve Dönüşümü: Otto Herbert Hajek'in Ankara Hergelen Meydan Projesi Örneği. *Akdeniz Sanat Dergisi*, *13*(24), 47-62.

Shapiro, M. J. (2017). Foucault and Method. *Foucault and the Modern International*, 115–134.

Shapiro, A. (2021). The urban stack: a topology for urban data infrastructures. In *Urban Platforms and the Future City: Transformations in Infrastructure, Governance, Knowledge and Everyday Life,* (Eds., Mike Hodson, Julia Kasmire, Andrew McMeekin, John G. Stehlin and Kevin Ward), pp, 25-39.

Sharghi, H. M. (2019). Body as Weapon: The Archaeology of A War Victim's Narrative. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology, 14*(1), 37-57. https://doi.org/10.1080/15740773.2019.1651537

Shaw, M. (2004). New wars of the city: Urbicide and genocide. In *Cities, war, and terrorism: Towards an urban geopolitics,* ed. S. Graham, 141–53, Blackwell.

Shepherd, L. J. (2009). Gender, Violence and Global Politics: Contemporary Debates in Feminist Security Studies. *Political Studies Review, 7*, 208-219.

Sideris, T. (2000). Rape in War and Peace: Some Thoughts on Social Context and Gender Roles. *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity, 16*(43), 41-45.

Simon, C. (2002). Introduction: Following the Archival Turn, Visual Resources. *An International Journal of Documentation*, *18*(2), 101-107. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973760290011770

Simmel, G. (1950a). On the Significance of Numbers for Social Life. In K. H. Wolff (Ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (pp. 87-105). New York: The Free Press.

Simmel, G. (1950b). The Metropolis and Mental Life. In K. H. Wolff (Ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (pp. 409-424). New York: The Free Press.

Simmel, G. (1997) Bridge and Door. *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, Routledge.

Simmel, G. (2011). *The Philosophy of Money*. Routledge.

Sjoberg, L. (2014). *Gender, War, and Conflict.* Polity.

Sklar, L. (2015). Philosophy of Statistical Mechanics. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

Slomp, G. (2009). *Carl Schmitt and the Politics of Hostility, Violence and Terror.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, B. (2010). The Enduring Wisdom of Sun Tzu and Clausewitz.

Smith, N. (1979). Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 45*(4): 538-548.

Smith, N. (1992). Geography, Difference and the Politics of Scale. *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City.* Routledge.

Sofsky, W. (1996). *The Order of Terror.* Princeton University Press.

Soja, E. W. (1971). The Political Organization of Space. *AAG Resource Paper,* (8), 1-54.

Soja, E. W. (1989). *Postmodern Geographies: Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory.* Verso.

Somer, M. (2022). *Return to Point Zero: The Turkish-Kurdish Question and How Politics and Ideas (Re)Make Empires, Nations and States.* State University of New York Press.

Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the Pain of Others.* Hamish Hamilton.

Sontag, S. (2005). *On Photography*. RosettaBooks.

Soyukaya, N. (2017). *Conflict Period and Following Demolition of the Old City (Suriçi) of Diyarbakir: Damage Assessment Report*. (unknown publisher).

Spivak, G. C. (2010). Can the Subaltern Speak? *In, Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. Rosalind Morris (ed.), pp. 21-78, Columbia University Press.

Springer, S. (2016). *The Anarchist Roots of Geography: Toward Spatial Emancipation.* University of Minnesota Press.

Stanek, L. (2011). *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory*. The University of Minnesota Press.

Stanley, B. (2017). The City-Logic of Resistance: Subverting Urbicide in the Middle East City. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development, 12*(3), 10-24. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48603189

Stavrides, S. (2010). *Towards the City of Thresholds.* Creative Commons.

Steedman, C. (1998). The space of memory: in an archive. *History of the Human Sciences, 11*(4), 65–83. https://doi.org/10.1177/095269519801100405

Stevens, D. G. (2003). *Challenges to Peace in the Middle East*. Pearson.

Stevens, S. T. (1988). A Legend of the Destruction of Carthage. *Classical Philology, 83*(1), 39-41. https://doi.org/10.1086/367078

Stewart, G. (2015). *Closed Circuits: Screening Narrative Surveillance.* University of Chicago Press.

Stillion, J. & Thomas A. (2014). Death, Dying and Bereavement: Contemporary Perspectives, Institutions and Practices. Springer.

Stimson, G. V. (1986). Place and space in sociological fieldwork. *Sociological Review*, *34*, 641–56.

Stoppani, T. (2007). Dust Projects: On Walter Benjamin's Passegen-Werk and Some Contemporary Dusty Makings in Architecture. *The Journal of Architecture*, *12*(5), 543-557. https://doi.org/10.1080/13602360701722566

Sturken, M. & Cartwirght, L. (2018). *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. Oxford University Press.

Sur Kaymakamlığı (2015, December 11). *11.12.2015 BASIN DUYURUSU (SURDA SOKAĞA ÇIKMA YASAĞI)*. T.C. Diyarbakır Valiliği Resmi Sitesi. Retrieved August 20, 2021, from http://www.diyarbakir.gov.tr/11122015-basin-duyurusu-surda-sokaga-cikma-yasagi?_sm_au_=iVVlNVl4mjjFFJV2

Swyngedouw, E. (1992). [Review of the book The Production of Space, by H. Lefebvre].

Şanlı, S. (2018). Müslim-Gayrimüslim Münasebetleri Bağlamında Diyarbakır'da Yahudi-Müslüman İlişkileri. *Diyarbakır: Mekân, Toplum, Ekonomi*, 229-240.

Şengülalp, C. (2018). Klasik Anit Heykel Mantiğinin Dani Karavan Ekseninde Plastik Mekâna Dönüşümü. *Journal of the Fine Arts Institute of Atatürk University, 41*, 35-47.

Şimşek, M. (2018a). *Süryaniler ve Diyarbakır*, Kent Işıkları.

Şimşek, M. (2018b). *Keldaniler ve Diyarbakır*, Kent Işıkları.

T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı (2016, March 21). *Karar Sayısı : 2016/8659*. Resmi Gazete. Retrieved August 20, 2021, from https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2016/03/20160325-15.pdf

Tarr, J. A. (1984). The Evolution of the Urban Infrastructure in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. In *Perspectives on Urban Infrastructure*, The National Academies Press.

Tartia, J. (2020). *The Temporality and Rhythmicity of Lived Street Space.* [Ph.D. Thesis, Tampere University].

Taylor, D. (2003). *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Duke University Press.

Thomas, H. & Walsh, D. F. (1998). Modernity/Postmodernity. *Core Sociological Dichotomies*, SAGE.

Tidy, J. (2018). Fatherhood, Gender, and Interventions in the Geopolitical: Analyzing Paternal Peace, Masculinities, and War. *International Political Sociology, 12,* 2–18. https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olx025

Toro, F. (2017). The thought of Élisée Reclus as a source of inspiration for degrowth ethos. In *Historical Geographies of Anarchism: Early Critical Geographers and Present-Day Scientific Challenges*, (Eds.) Federico Ferretti, Gerónimo Barrera de la Torre, Anthony Ince & Francisco Toro.

Truax, B. (2017). *Sound, Listening and Place: The Aesthetic Dilemma*. [online].

Tsing, A. (2005). *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection.* Princeton University Press.

Tuan, Y. (1977). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience.* University of Minnesota Press.

Tucker, B. J. (2012). The Role of the Chemical Weapons Convention in Countering Chemical Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence 24*, 105–119.

Turda, M. (2010). *Modernism and Eugenics.* Palgrave Macmillan.

Tuzi, I. (2019). From Insecurity to Secondary Migration: "Bounded Mobilities" of Syrian and Eritrean Refugees in Europe. *Migration Letters 16*(4), 551-561. https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v16i4.560

Tzu, S. (2009). *The Art of War*. Pax Librorum Publishing House.

Uğurlu, M. A., Erdemli-Günaslan, S. & Karaşin, A. (2017). Dört Ayaklı Minare'nin Modellenmesi ve Yapısal Analizi. *Dicle Üniversitesi Mühendislik Fakültesi Mühendislik Dergisi*, *8*(2), 413-422.

UN Women (n.d.). *Rape as a Tactic of War*. Retrieved August 23, 2023, from https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Media/Publications/UNIFEM/EVAWkit_06_Factsheet_ConflictAndPostConflict_en.pdf

Uysal, A. (Ed.). (2016). *İsyan, Şiddet, Yas: 90'lar Türkiye'sine Bakmak*. Dipnot Yayınları.

Ünver, H. A. (2015). *Turkey's Kurdish Question: Discourse & Politics Since 1990*. Routledge.

Van Alphen, E. (2016). The Politics of Exclusion, or, Reanimating the Archive. *The Nordic Journal of Aesthetics, 24*(49–50). https://doi.org/10.7146/nja.v24i49-50.23318

Van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* eds. Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton, 352-371.

Van Gennep, A. (2004). *The Rites of Passage.* Routledge.

Van Leeuwen, T. & Wodak, R. (1999). Legitimizing Immigration Control: A Discourse-Historical Analysis. *Discourse Studies, 1*(1), 83–118. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445699001001005

Varvantakis, C. (2009). A Monument to Dismantlement. *Memory Studies, 2*(1): 27–38. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698008097393

Vatter, M. (2017). Community, Life, and Subjectivity in Italian Biopolitics. In *The Routledge Handbook of Biopolitics*, (Eds.) Sergei Prozorov and Simona Rentea, Routledge.

Virilio, P. (1989). *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception.* Verso

Waldock, J. (2011). Soundmapping: Critiques and reflections on this new publicly engaging medium. *Journal of Sonic Studies, 1*(1).

Watier, P. (1991). The War Writings of Georg Simmel. *Theory, Culture & Society, 8*(3), 219–233. https://doi.org/10.1177/026327691008003015

Weber, M. M. (1919). Politics as a Vocation. *Princeton Readings in Political Thought.*

Wee, C. H. (1994). Managing Change: Perspectives from Sun Tzu's Art of War. *Journal of Strategic Change, 3,* 189-199.

Wehrey, F., Kaye, D. D., Watkins, J., Martini, J., & Guffey, R. A. (2010). *The Iraq Effect: The Middle East After the Iraq War*. RAND Corporation.

Weilacher, U. (2005). *In Gardens: Profiles of Contemporary European Landscape Architecture*. Birkhäuser Architecture.

Weizman, E. (2002). *Introduction to the Politics of Verticality*. Open Democracy.

Weizman, E. (2007a). *Hollow Land: Israel's Architecture of Occupation.* Verso.

Weizman, E. (2007b). On Extraterritoriality. *Archipelag D'Excepcions*, G. Agamben, T. Ali, and Z. Bauman (eds.). Centre de Cultura Contemporania.

Weizman, E. (2017). *Forensic Architecture: Violence at the Threshold of Detectability.* Zone Books.

Wilcox, L. B. (2015). *Bodies of Violence.* Oxford University Press.

Wirth, L. (1938). Urbanism as a Way of Life. *American Journal of Sociology*, *44*(1), pp. 1-24

Wodak, R., De C.llia R., Reisigl, M. & Liebhart K. (2009). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh University Press.

Woodward, W. R. & Vianney-Higiro, J. (2015). The Commodification of Genocide: Part II. A NeoGramscian Model for Rwanda. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science, 5*(5), pp. 1-9.

Yanıkkaya, B. (2009). Gündelik Hayatın Suretinde: Öteki Korkusu, Görsel Şiddet ve Medya. *Medya Milliyetçilik Şiddet*, (ed.), Barış Çoban, 11-28.

Yeğen, M. (2007). Turkish Nationalism and the Kurdish Question. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(1), 119-51.

Yıldırım, G., Kıdak, L. B., & Yurdabakan, I. (2018). İkincil Travmatik Stres Ölçeği: Bir Uyarlama Çalışması. *Psychiatry, 19*(1), 45-51.

Yıldız, M. Z., Haykır, M., & Erdem, E., (2010). Cizre'nin Kentsel Gelişim Süreci. In *Uluslararası Şırnak ve Cizre Çevresi Sempozyumu*, 14-16 May (Ed. Nesim Doru), 223- 240.

Zara, A. & İçöz, F. (2015). Türkiye'de Ruh Sağlığı Alanında Travma Mağdurlarıyla Çalışanlarında İkincil Travmatik Stres. *Klinik Psikiyatri, 18,* 15-23.

Zeitlin, S. G. (2015). Propaganda and Critique: An Introduction to Land and Sea. In *Land and Sea: A World-Historical Meditation*.

Zeydanlıoğlu, W. (2010). The Period of Barbarity: Turkification, State Violence and Torture in Modern Turkey. In *State Power and the Legal Regulation of Evil*, (Ed.) Francesca Dominello

Zhou, X. (2014). *Cities of Others: Reimagining Urban Spaces in Asian American Literature.* University of Washington Press.

APPENDICES 1-9

APPENDIX 1 Aztec's birth and death deities.

Appendix-1: Aztec's birth and death deities.

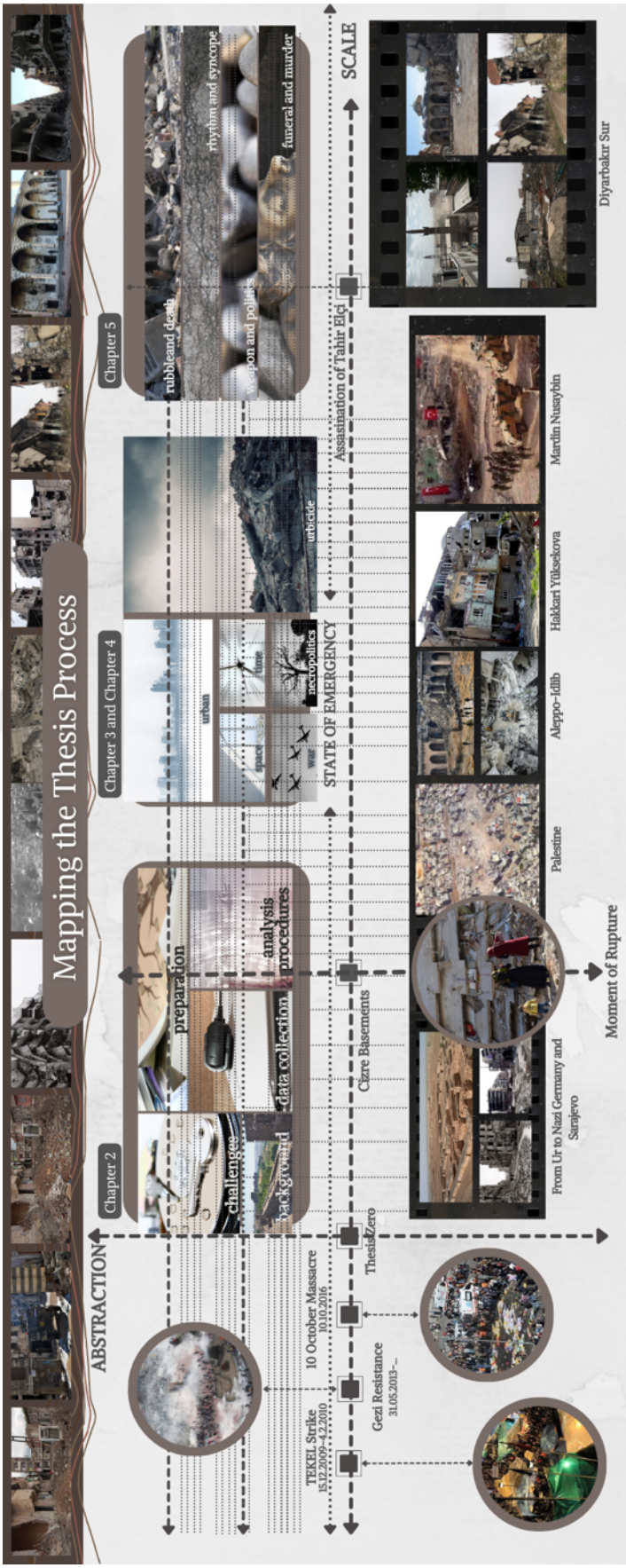
On the left Mictlantecuhtli (god of death); on the right Quetzalcoatl (god of birth)

Source: Special Collections, University of Kentucky Libraries

Retrieved from: https://uknowledge.uky.edu/world_mexico_codices/8/

APPENDIX 2

Mapping the Thesis Process



Appendix-2: Mapping the Thesis Process

APPENDIX 3 Interviewee Profile List

Interviewee Profile

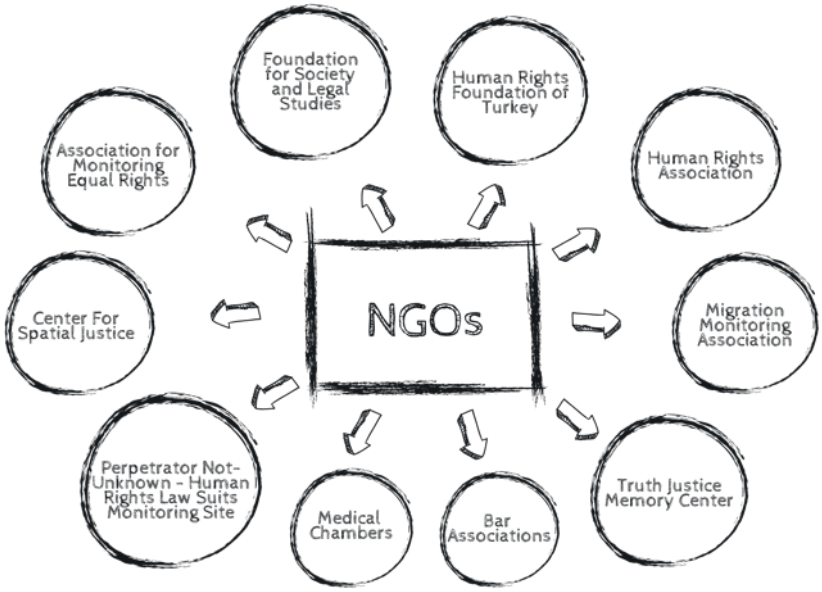
	Nom de guerre	Age	Gender	Occupation	Group	Interview date
1	Şeyhmus	35	♂	architect	NGO	17 Sep 2019
2	Rengin-1	30	♂	unemployed	NGO	18 Sep 2019
3	Rengin-2	37	♀	domestic labor	dweller	18 Sep 2019
4	Rengin-3	34	♂	unemployed	dweller	18 Sep 2019
5	Roj	29	♀	medical staff	NGO	18 Sep 2019
6	Miro	34	♂	medical staff	NGO	18 Sep 2019
7	Picasso	32	♂	medical staff	NGO	18 Sep 2019
8	Fırat	35	⚥	teacher	NGO-dweller	19 Sep 2019
9	Anter	50	♂	academician	expert	19 Sep 2019
10	Serdarin	30	♂	official	official	19 Sep 2019
11	Aze	41	♀	teacher	NGO-dweller	20 Sep 2019
12	Zozan	44	♀	domestic labor	dweller	21 Sep 2019
13	Kulilk	56	♀	domestic labor	dweller	21 Sep 2019
14	Şirin	28	♀	domestic labor	dweller	21 Sep 2019
15	Dicle	30	♀	domestic labor	dweller	21 Sep 2019
16	Mem	37	♂	psychologist	expert-NGO	22 Sep 2019
17	Victor	43	♂	lawyer	expert-NGO	24 Sep 2019
18	Zin	32	♀	official	official	25 Sep 2019
19	Güneş	38	♀	official	official	25 Sep 2019
20	Roni	52	♀	official	official	25 Sep 2019
21	Toprak	30	♂	medical staff	NGO	26 Sep 2019
22	Ali	35	♂	lawyer	expert-NGO	26 Sep 2019
23	Narin	32	♀	manager	NGO	27 Sep 2019
24	Seher	45	♀	official	official	27 Sep 2019
25	Mezra	55	♀	official	official	28 Sep 2019
26	Mıgırdiç	60	♂	trader	dweller-NGO	28 Sep 2019
27	Umut	32	♂	unemployed	dweller	29 Sep 2019
28	Neco	25	♂	shopkeeper	dweller	29 Sep 2019
29	Helin	43	♀	domestic labor	dweller	29 Sep 2019

Appendix-3: Interviewee Profile List

APPENDIX 4 Criteria for Research Participants as City-Dwellers

Appendix-4: Criteria for Research Participants as City-Dwellers

APPENDIX 5 The Representatives of NGOs



Appendix-5: The Representatives of NGOs.

APPENDIX 6 Interview Questions

a) For the city-dwellers:

1) How was everyday life before the war? What are the memorabilia crumbs of these experiences (spatial, monumental memories and routes, place of passages, and spatialities related to pre-war lives)?

2) How was everyday life during the war?

- **a.** Self-defense and safeguarding practices
- **b.** Barricades and ditches
- **c.** The ability to the reinterpretation of the city
- **d.** Being a civilian during the war

3) How was/is the quotidian life after the war?

- **a.** Changes in the space
- **b.** Evanescence
- **c.** New spatialities
- **d.** Reinterpretation of the city

4) What do they remember about the city before the war?

- **a.** What/where were the commonly used spaces before the war?
- **b.** How do they feel about the memories of the city before the war?
- **c.** Description of the city center before the war

5) What do they remember about the city during the war? What did it look like?

- **a.** What/where were the commonly used spaces during the war?
- **b.** How do they feel about the memories of the city during the war?
- **c.** Description of the city center during the war

6) How do they describe the city after the war?

- **a.** What/where are the commonly used spaces after the war?
- **b.** How do they feel about the memories of the city after the war?
- **c.** Description of the city center after the war

7) What do domus (home), street, hometown, and neighborhood mean?

8) What are the legal procedures that they faced during and after the war?

- **a.** Procedures related to property ownership and land title

b. Procedures of displacement

c. Procedures of the restitution

9) What do "state," "guerilla," and "identity" mean for them?

10) What and how do they feel about this thesis/research?

b) For the officials:

1. How did the conflict period start?

2. How do they define and describe the period?

3. What was/is the straw that broke the camel's back?

4. What are the responsibilities of the state and state officials in this period?

5. What are the recordings and registration within this period?

6. What were the military tools and equipment that the state used in this period?

7. What will happen from now on?

a. What do they think about the future of the region?

b. What do they think about the future of the Kurdish Question?

c. What are the projections about the cities in the region?

d. What do they think about the normalization process? How can it be organized?

8. What does Kurdish identity mean for them? How do they describe and define the Kurdish identity?

9. Is there a possibility of starting a war in the region? What happens if the period starts again?

c) For the representatives of the non-governmental organizations:

1. How did the conflict period start?

2. How do they define and describe the period?

3. What was/is the straw that broke the camel's back?

4. What are the responsibilities of the non-governmental organizations in this period?

5. What are the recordings and registration within this period?

6. What were the military tools and equipment that the state used in this period?

7. What will happen from now on?

a. What do they think about the future of the region?

b. What do they think about the future of the Kurdish Question?

c. What are the projections about the cities in the region?

d. What do they think about the normalization process? How can it be organized?

8. Is there a possibility of starting a war in the region? What happens if the period starts again?

d) For the experts:

1. How did the conflict period start?

2. How do they define and describe the period?

3. What was/is the straw that broke the camel's back?

4. What are the responsibilities of the non-governmental organizations in this period?

5. What are the recordings and registration within this period?

6. What are the military tools and equipment that the state used in this period?

7. What will happen from now on?

a. What do they think about the future of the region?

b. What do they think about the future of the Kurdish Question?

c. What are the projections about the cities in the region?

d. What do they think about the normalization process? How can it be organized?

8. Is there a possibility of starting a war in the region? What happens if the period starts again?

Görüşme Soruları:

a) Şehir Sakinleri:

1. Savaştan önce gündelik hayat nasıldı? Bu deneyimlerin bıraktığı hafıza kırıntıları neler (savaş öncesi mekânsal, anıtsal hatıralar ve güzergâhlar, mekânsallıklar)

2. Savaş sırasında gündelik yaşam nasıldı?

10. Savunma ve korunma pratikleri

11. Barikatlar ve hendekler

12. Şehri yeniden yorumlama becerisi

13. Savaş sırasında sivil olma

3. Savaş sonrası gündelik yaşam nasıl/dı?

a. Mekândaki değişiklikler

b. Hafızadan kopanlar/silinenler
c. Yeni mekânsallıklar
d. Şehrin yeniden yorumlanması

4. Savaş öncesi şehre dair ne hatırlıyorlar?
a. Savaş öncesi ortaklaşa ve sıkça kullanılan mekânlar nerelerdir?
b. Savaş öncesi hatıralarla ilgili neler hissediyorlar?
c. Savaş öncesi şehir merkezinin tasviri

5. Savaş sırasında şehir hakkında ne hatırlıyorlar? Neye benziyordu?
a. Savaş sırasında ortaklaşa ve sıkça kullanılan mekânlar nerelerdir?
b. Savaş sırasında hatıralarla ilgili neler hissediyorlar?
c. Savaş sırasında şehir merkezinin tasviri

6. Savaş sonrası şehri nasıl tarif ederler?
a. Savaş sonrasında ortaklaşa ve sıkça kullanılan mekânlar nerelerdir?
b. Savaş sonrasında hatıralarla ilgili neler hissediyorlar?
c. Savaş sonrasında şehir merkezinin tasviri

7. Ev, sokak, mahalle, komşuluk onlar için ne anlatıyor?

8. Savaş sırasında ve sonrasında karşılaştıkları yasal prosedürler nelerdir?
a. Tapu, mülkiyete yönelik prosedürler
b. Yerinden edilmeye dair prosedürler
c. Zararın karşılanmasına yönelik prosedürler

9. Devlet, gerilla, kimlik onlar için ne ifade eder?

10. Bu tez/çalışmayla ilgili ne hissettiler ve nasıl hissettiler?

b. Devlet Memurları için:

1. Çatışma süreci nasıl başladı?

2. Bardağı taşıran son damla neydi?

3. Bu süreçte devletin ve devlet görevlilerinin sorumlulukları nelerdir?

4. Bu süreçte tutulan kayıt ve tanzim işleri nelerdir?

5. Devletin bu süreçte kullandığı askeri araç ve gereçler nelerdir?

6. Bundan sonrası hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
1. Bölgenin geleceği hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
2. Kürt Sorununun geleceği hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
3. Bölgedeki şehirler hakkındaki öngörüleri neler?
4. Normalleşme süreci hakkında ne düşünüyorlar? Bu süreç nasıl örgütlenebilir?

7. Kürt kimliğini onlar için ne ifade ediyor? Kürt kimliğini nasıl tasvir ediyor ve tanımlıyorlar?
8. Bölgede savaşın yeniden başlaması olasılığı var mı? Süreç yeniden başlarsa ne olur?

c. Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarında Çalışanlar için:

a. Çatışma süreci nasıl başladı?
b. Süreci nasıl tanımlıyor ve tasvir ediyorlar?
c. Bardağı taşıran son damla neydi?
d. Bu süreçte sivil toplum örgütlerinin sorumlulukları nelerdir?
e. Bu süreçte tutulan kayıt ve tanzim işleri nelerdir?
f. Devletin bu süreçte kullandığı askeri araç ve gereçler nelerdir?
    1. Bundan sonrası hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
    2. Bölgenin geleceği hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
    3. Kürt Sorununun geleceği hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
    4. Bölgedeki şehirler hakkındaki öngörüleri neler?
    5. Normalleşme süreci hakkında ne düşünüyorlar? Bu süreç nasıl örgütlenebilir?
g. Bölgede savaşın yeniden başlaması olasılığı var mı? Süreç yeniden başlarsa ne olur?

d. Uzmanlar için:

a. Çatışma süreci nasıl başladı?
b. Süreci nasıl tanımlıyor ve tasvir ediyorlar?
c. Bardağı taşıran son damla neydi?
d. Bu süreçte sivil toplum örgütlerinin sorumlulukları nelerdir?
e. Bu süreçte tutulan kayıt ve tanzim işleri nelerdir?
f. Devletin bu süreçte kullandığı askeri araç ve gereçler nelerdir?
    1. Bundan sonrası hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
    2. Bölgenin geleceği hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
    3. Kürt Sorununun geleceği hakkında ne düşünüyorlar?
    4. Bölgedeki şehirler hakkındaki öngörüleri neler?
    5. Normalleşme süreci hakkında ne düşünüyorlar? Bu süreç nasıl örgütlenebilir?
g. Bölgede savaşın yeniden başlaması olasılığı var mı? Süreç yeniden başlarsa ne olur?

APPENDIX 7

Interview Card (For City Dweller)

INTERVIEW FORM
CITY DWELLERS

...SEP 2019

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Coordinator Research Assistant Sibel BEKİROĞLU

Research
Field research for the study titled "Space and Memory: Urban Morphology of Southeast Turkey"

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

__ __ / __ __ / __ __

INTERVIEWEE N.

PSEUDONYM

Marital Status

AGE

Number of Children

GENDER

Socio-economic status/Income

ETHNICITY

Religious affiliation

OCCUPATION

Family Type

Social Security Status

Did the interviewer sign the form? ☐ Yes ☐ No

RESIDENCY

When was the last time they moved into the house they stayed in?

When did they leave home?

Neighborhood of their homes

The house before the collapse

The current state of their home

Completely destroyed ☐ Yes ☐ No

Are they planning to go back? Why? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Were their houses subjected to urgent expropriation? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Have legal proceedings been initiated? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Number of households before the house was demolished

Number of households after demolition

SOLIDARITY/HELP/SUPPORT

☐ I have not received any help/support from any institution, organization or person.

☐ Family ☐ Political Party ☐ NGO ☐ State institution (other than municipality and governorship) ☐ Municipality ☐ Governorship ☐ Someone outside the family ☐ Friend circle ☐ Other

NEIGHBORHOOD

Have you seen the last of the neighborhood? _____ Completely destroyed ☐ Yes ☐ No

Is the connection with the neighbors maintained? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Is there a situation of moving with neighbors due to forced migration? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Do they want to go back to the same neighborhood? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Is the neighborhood subject to urgent expropriation? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Has the legal process been initiated? ☐ Yes ☐ No

MONUMENT

Monumental buildings in their neighborhoods _____

Names of the monuments _____

Condition of the monuments before demolition _____ Completely destroyed ☐ Yes ☐ No

Current condition of the monuments _____

Why it is important
- ☐ Identity/Ethnicity
- ☐ Collective memory
- ☐ Religious sentiments
- ☐ Narratives of past generations
- ☐ Habituation
- ☐ The sadness of being destroyed by war
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Personal memories
- ☐ No reason specified

Should there be a restoration? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Should another monument be erected in its place? ☐ Yes ☐ No

EDUCATION AND CHILDREN

Number of Children _____ Education status of children _____

Ages of children _____ Pre-war education service _____

Has there been any disruption in the education situation after the war? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Did children use school buses before the war? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Did they have to take their children out of school? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Do children continue to use school buses after the war? ☐ Yes ☐ No

WAR

Did they witness the use of heavy weapons? ☐ Yes ☐ No

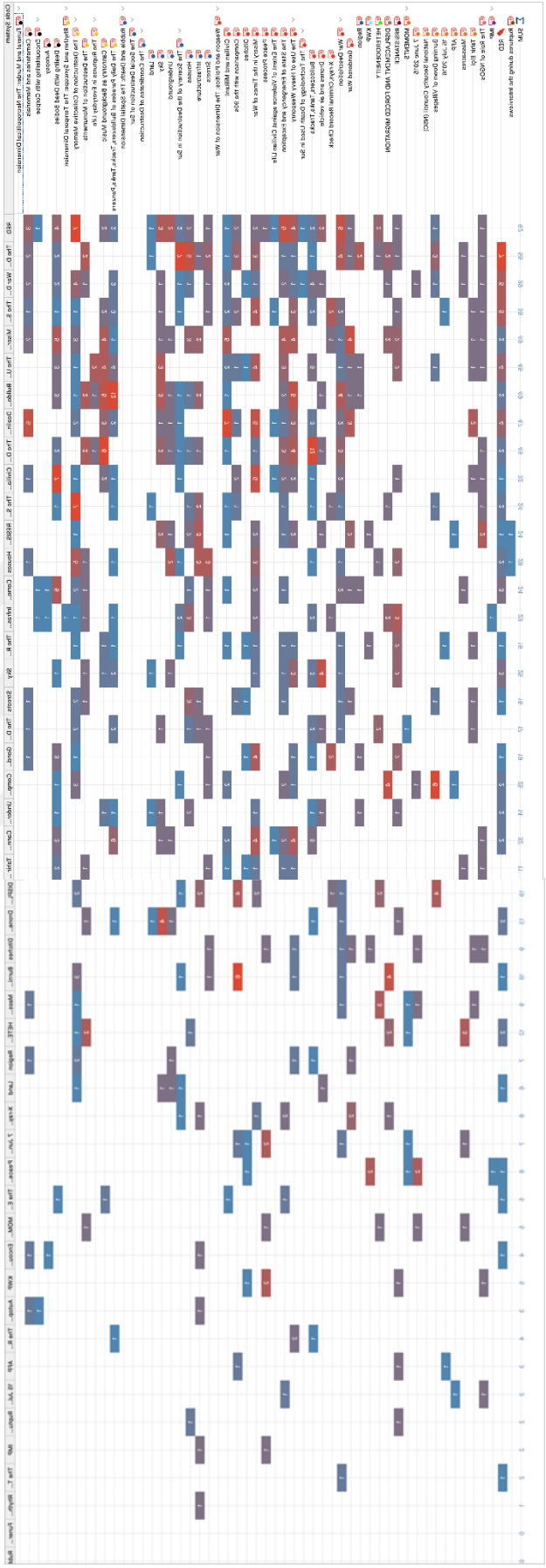
Have any of your family members lost their lives due to the war? (Please specify relationship, age and gender.) ☐ Yes ☐ No

Have they been subjected to exclusion/insult or ill-treatment because of the war? ☐ Yes ☐ No

NOTES

APPENDIX 8

Code Relationality



Appendix-8: Code Relationality

APPENDIX 9 The Case of Hakan Arslan

HAKİMLER VE SAVCILAR KURULUNA
ANKARA

SUÇ DUYURUSUNDA BULUNAN : Diyarbakır Barosu Başkanlığı

TALEP KONUSU : Hakan ARSLAN'ın cenazesinin usule uygun bir şekilde teslim edilmemesi nedeniyle, kişi hatırasına hakaret ve görevi kötüye kullanma suçu kapsamında, ekli teslim tutanağında ismi geçen ilgili cumhuriyet savcısının yargılamasının yapılarak cezalandırılması taleplidir.

AÇIKLAMALAR :

5 Şubat 2021 tarihinde, Diyarbakır İli Sur İlçesi Hasırlı Mahallesi Köprülü Sokak yanında devam eden restorasyon çalışmaları sırasında, kemik parçalarının bulunduğu ihbarı üzerine, Diyarbakır İl Emniyet Müdürlüğü görevlilerince kemik parçaları muhafaza altına alınmıştır.

Diyarbakır Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı'nca, Hakan ARSLAN'ın ailesinin başvurusu üzerine yapılan incelemeler neticesinde, üç adet diş örneğinden elde edilen genotip anne-baba-çocuk ilişkisi bakımından uyumlu olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

29.08.2022 tarihinde, Diyarbakır Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı'nca müteveffa Hakan ARSLAN'ın babası Ali Rıza ARSLAN'a adliyede kargo içerisinde, cenaze teslim edilmiştir. Ekte teslim tesellüm tutanağını ve görüntü kayıtlarını sunuyoruz.

1593 sayılı Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu, Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası ile Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik ve Sağlık Bakanlığı Temel Sağlık Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü'nün 2000/41, 2000/42 ve 2000/43 tarih ve sayılı genelgeleri ile cenazenin kimlik tespiti, aileye teslimi ve define ilişkin hususlar düzenlenmiştir.

Anayasa'da kişilere ölümlerinden sonra uygun bir defin imkanı sağlanması gerektiğine ilişkin açık bir hüküm bulunmamaktadır fakat Anayasa'nın başlangıç bölümünde insan onurundan, 17. maddesinde işkence ve eziyet yasağından ve 20. maddesinde özel hayatın korunmasından bahsedilmektedir. Keza AİHM içtihat hukukunda, gömülme hakkının ve kişi hatırasına saygının AİHS'nin 8. Maddesi kapsamında aile hayatına saygı hakkı kapsamında olduğunu belirtmiştir.

Herkesin, ailesinin geleneklerine uygun olarak, onurlu bir şekilde gömülme, akrabası olan veya kendisine çok yakın olan bir kişiyi defnetme, ahlaki görevlerini yerine getirme fırsatına sahip olma ve insan niteliğini gösterme, son yolculuğuna uğurlama, kederlenme, matem tutma ve ölüyü anma hakkı ile toplum ve devlet tarafından nasıl görülürse görülsün, bütün medeniyetlerde kutsal bir değeri ve hatıra sembolü olan bir mezara sahip olma hakkı bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle devletin, güvenlik güçlerinin ve yerel mahkemelerin, gerekçesi ne olursa olsun, insan onuruna yakışır şekilde gömülme ve insanların yakınlarını gömebilme hakkını gözeterek yaklaşması gerekir.

Appendix-9: The Case of Hakan Arslan
Source: https://www.diyarbakirbarosu.org.tr/public/uploads/files/sikayetdilekcesi.pdf

Mütevveffa Hakan ARSLAN'ın ailesine kan örneğine ilişkin genotipin uyumlu olduğunun tespit edilmesinden sonra, adliyede kutu içerisinde cenaze aileye teslim edilmiştir. İnsancıl hukuk kapsamında, cenazenin teslimi ve gömülmesinin insani ölçütler gözetilerek gerçekleştirilmesi elzemdir. Ancak baba Ali Rıza ARSLAN'a kutu içerisinde cenazenin teslim edilmesi hukuken ve vicdanen doğru değildir.

Anayasanın 17/3. Maddesinde;
"Kimseye işkence ve eziyet yapılamaz; kimse insan haysiyetiyle bağdaşmayan bir cezaya veya muameleye tabi tutulamaz."

Avrupa İnsan Hakları Sözleşmesi'nin (AİHS) 3.maddesinde ;
"Hiç kimse işkenceye, insanlık dışı ya da onur kırıcı ceza veya muamelelere tabi tutulamaz."

Anayasa Mahkemesi 28/09/2016 tarihinde Başvuru No:2014/5097 sayılı kararında; Herkesin maddi ve manevi varlığını koruma ve geliştirme hakkına sahip olduğu, Anayasa'nın 17. maddesinde güvence altına alınmıştır. Anılan maddenin birinci fıkrasında insan onurunun korunması amaçlanmıştır. Üçüncü fıkrasında da kimseye "işkence" ve "eziyet yapılamayacağı, kimsenin "insan haysiyetiyle bağdaşmayan" ceza veya muameleye tabi tutulamayacağı hüküm altına alınmıştır. (Cezmi Demir ve diğerleri, B. No: 2013/293, 17/7/2014, § 80)

İnsancıl hukuk normları, toplumsal, kültürel ve inançsal değerler gereği kutu içerisinde cenazenin adliyede teslim edilmesi, kabul edilemez olup sorumlular hakkında soruşturmanın açılması gerekir.

Ulusal ve uluslararası hukukta cenazenin teslim alınmasına dönük, kişinin hatırasına saygı ve gömülme hakkını gözeten bir yöntemin nasıl olmasını gerektiği ayrıntılı bir şekilde belirtilmektedir. Cenazeye yönelik yapılan bu muamele, işkence ve kötü muamele suçunu oluşturmaktadır. Bu durum, ölüye, hatırasına, cenazeye saygıyı ve gömülme hakkını ihlal etmiştir.

Görevi Kötüye Kullanma Suçu(TCK 257)

5237 sayılı TCK'nın 257. maddesinde kamu görevlisinin görevini yapmaması veya hukuka aykırı olarak görevini ifa etmesini görevi kötüye kullanma suçu olarak belirtilmiştir. Cenazenin kutu çerisinde adliyede aileye teslim edilmesi, işkence, insanlık dışı ve kötü muamelede bulunulması, ulusal ve uluslararası mevzuat hükümleri gereğince cenzaenin usulüne uygun teslim edilmemesi nedeniyle TCK'nın 257.maddesi gereğince cezalandırılmaları gerekmektedir.

Kişi Hatırasına Hakaret Suçu(TCK 130)

Kişinin hatırasına hakaret suçunun düzenlendiği 5237 sayılı Türk Ceza Kanununun 130. Maddesi; "(1) Bir kimsenin öldükten sonra hatırasına en az 3 kişiyle ihtilat ederek hakaret eden kişi, üç aydan iki yıla kadar hapis veya adli para cezası ile cezalandırılır. Ceza, hakaretin alenen işlenmesi halinde, altıda biri oranında artırılır.

(2) Bir ölünün kısmen veya tamamen ceset veya kemiklerini alan veya ceset veya kemikler hakkında tahkir edici fiillerde bulunan kişi, üç aydan iki yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır." şeklindedir.

Hakaret suçu ile korunan hukuki değer, kişinin onur, şeref ve saygınlığıdır. Suçun oluşabilmesi için failin hareketinin mağdurun onur, şeref ve saygınlığını rencide edebilecek nitelikte olması yeterlidir. Ayrıca mağdurun onur, şeref ve saygınlığının rencide edilmiş olması aranmaz. Bu nedenle hakaret suçu soyut tehlike suçudur. Bu suç sadece sözle değil aynı zamanda yazıyla veya mağdurun onur, şeref veya saygınlığını rencide edebilecek her türlü fiille işlenebilir. Cenazenin kutu çerisinde adliyede aileye teslim edilmesi, ölüye, hatırasına, cenazeye saygıyı ve gömülme hakkını ihlal edici nitelikte olup TCK'nın 130/2. Maddesi gereğince şüphelinin yargılanarak cezalandırılması gerekir.

HUKUKİ NEDENLER : 1593 sayılı Umumi Hıfzısıhha Kanunu, Mezarlık Yerlerinin İnşası ile Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik ve Sağlık Bakanlığı Temel Sağlık Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü'nün 2000/41, 2000/42 ve 2000/43 tarih ve sayılı genelgeleri, Anayasa 17/3. Madde, AİHS'nin 3 ve 8. Maddesi, TCK 130 ve 257. Maddeleri

DELİLLER : Teslim ve Tesellüm tutanağı, Basın yayın organlarında yer verilen Görüntü kayıtları

SONUÇ ve İSTEM : Yukarıda izah ettiğimiz hususlar gereğince, TCK'nın 257 ve 130. Maddesi gereğince, ilgili cumhuriyet savcısı hakkında soruşturmanın yapılarak cezalandırılması taleplidir.

Diyarbakır Barosu Başkanlığı

Ek:

1. Teslim Tuatanağı
2. Basın yayın organlarında yer alan görüntü kayıtları

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
ueam@metu.edu.tr
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

Sayı: 28620816 / 337

21 AĞUSTOS 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Helga Rittersberger TILIÇ

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Sibel BEKİROĞLU' nun "Space and Memory: The Urban Morphology of South Eastern Part of Turkey"** başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **317 ODTÜ 2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

[redacted]

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Başkan

[redacted]

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN
Üye

[redacted]

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
Üye

[redacted]

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye [redacted]

[redacted]

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Süreyya Özcan KABASAKAL
Üye [redacted]

B. ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu araştırma, ODTÜ Sosyoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi ve araştırma görevlisi Sibel Bekiroğlu tarafından doktora programı kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Araştırmanın amacı, Güney Doğu Anadolu Bölgesindeki şehir dokusunun bozulması ve yıkımıyla birlikte nasıl bir kent olgusunun ortaya çıktığı sorusuyla ile ilgili bilgi toplamaktır.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, sizden beklenen, mülakat sırasında sorulan soruları yanıtlamanız ve yürüyüş mülakatlarında mekânlarla olan hikâye ve bağlantınızı araştırmacıya anlatmanızdır. Bu çalışmaya katılım ortalama olarak 30 dakika ile 1 saat arasında sürmektedir.

Sizden Topladığımız Bilgileri Nasıl Kullanacağız?

Araştırmaya katılımınız tamamen gönüllülük temelinde olmalıdır. Mülakat sırasında, sizden kimlik veya kurum belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Cevaplarınız tamamıyla gizli tutulacak, sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Katılımcılardan elde edilecek bilgiler toplu halde değerlendirilecek ve bilimsel yayımlarda kullanılacaktır. Sağladığınız veriler gönüllü katılım formlarında toplanan kimlik bilgileri ile eşleştirilmeyecektir.

Katılımınızla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:

Mülakat, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek sorular içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz cevaplama işini yarıda bırakmakta serbestsiniz. Böyle bir durumda mülakatı uygulayan kişiye, tamamlamadığınızı söylemek yeterli olacaktır.

Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:

Anket sonunda, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Sosyoloji Bölümü doktora öğrencisi ve araştırma görevlisi Sibel Bekiroğlu [redacted] ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

(Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad Tarih İmza

---/----/-----

C. KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU

Bu araştırma, daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, ODTÜ Sosyoloji Bölümü Doktora öğrencisi Sibel Bekiroğlu tarafından yürütülmektedir. Bu çalışma, sıradanın toplumsal hafızada somutlaştığı mekânsallıklar olarak anıtların yıkımı ve yıkımın oluşturduğu yeni bir kentsel durumu yani kentkırım olgusunu, ilgili fotoğraf, rapor, harita ile birlikte sivil toplum örgütleri tarafından yapılmış mülakatları kullanarak anıt kavramı ve kentkırım literatürüne referansla incelemektedir.

Bu çalışmada, görsel veri ve veri toplama teknikleri kullanılarak anıt yıkımının, toplumsal hafızada ve mekânın temellük edilmesinde oynadığı rol araştırılacaktır. Diyarbakır Sur'daki anıtların bir dökümü yapılarak burada yapılacak olan fotoğraf temelli görüşmeler ve anıtların son durumunu görselleştirmek için fotoğraflama teknikleri kullanılacaktır. Fotoğraf temelli görüşmeler, çatışma öncesi ve sonrasına ait görsellerin görüşmecilere sunulması ve bunun üzerinden gerçekleştirilen yapılandırılmamış derinlemesine mülakatlardan oluşmaktadır. Verilen yanıtlar üzerinden anıt yıkımının nasıl bir kent olgusu yarattığı anlaşılmaya çalışılacaktır. Yapılan mülakatların deşifresinden sonra MAXqda (Maximum Nitel Veri Analiz Yazılımı) kullanılarak toplanan verilerin analizi sağlanacaktır. Çatışma sürecinde STKların çatışma sürecini yaşamış şehir sakinleriyle olan mülakat ve oluşturdukları gözlem raporları yine hem veri güvenirliliğini sağlamak hem de yeni veri elde etmek için kullanılacaktır.

Bu çalışmadan alınacak ilk verilerin Eylül 2019 sonunda elde edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda kullanılacaktır. Çalışmanın sağlıklı ilerleyebilmesi ve bulguların güvenilir olması için çalışmaya katılacağını bildiğiniz diğer kişilerle çalışma ile ilgili detaylı bilgi paylaşımında bulunmamanızı dileriz. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar çok teşekkür ederiz. Araştırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki isimlere başvurabilirsiniz.

Arş. Gör. Sibel Bekiroğlu [redacted]

Çalışmaya katkıda bulunan bir gönüllü olarak katılımcı haklarınızla ilgili veya etik ilkelerle ilgi soru veya görüşlerinizi ODTÜ Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi'ne iletebilirsiniz. e-posta: [redacted]

D. CURRICULUM VITAE

Sibel BEKİROĞLU
Department of Sociology
Middle East Technical University

ORCİD Number: [redacted]

ResearcherID: [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Scopus ID: [redacted]

EDUCATION

PhD	Middle East Technical University, Sociology Department Dissertation: "Conceptualizing Urbicide: Space, Memory, War, and Necropolitics" Supervisor: Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç,	2016-2023
PhD	Ankara University, Political Science Department	2013-left
MS	Middle East Technical University, Sociology Department Thesis: "Everyday Life and Resistance Practices in F-type Prisons of Turkey" Supervisor: Dr. Çağatay Topal	2013-2016
BA	İstanbul University, Child Development Department	2022-continuing
BS	Middle East Technical University, Sociology Department Graduated with High-Honor	2007-2013
BA	Middle East Technical University, Philosophy Department Graduated with High-Honor	2007-2013

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Project Title:"65+ Dijital Kapsayıcılık Projesi" (Digital Inclusion for 65+) 2021-2022
65+Yaşlı Hakları Derneği (65 + Elder Rights Association)
Social Researcher, Supporting Civil Society Dialogue Between EU and Turkey Grant Scheme (CSD-VI)

Project Title: "Türkiye Hapishanelerinde Gündelik Hayat ve Direniş Pratikleri" (Everyday Life and Resistance Practices in Turkish Prisons) 2015-2016
Scientific Research Project, Scientific Research Center,
Middle East Technical University, Ankara.
Advisor: Dr. Çağatay Topal

ACEDEMIC POSITIONS

Research Assistant 2015-2022
Department of Sociology,
Middle East Technical University
Advisor: Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç

Student Assistant 2011-2013
Department of Sociology,
Middle East Technical University
Advisor: Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar

PRESENTATIONS AT THE INTERNATIONAL PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

Bekiroğlu, S. (2021). "War as A Gendered Phenomenon: Women's Experience of War in Diyarbakır, Turkey", *ESA 15th European Conference for Sociology*, August, Barcelona.

Bekiroğlu, S. (2019). "The Destruction of Monuments: An Analysis Urban Morphology of Diyarbakir/Suriçi", *ESA 14th European Conference for Sociology*, August, Manchester.

Bekiroğlu, S. (2017). "Urban as the Theatre of War: Autopsy of Cizre", *ESA 13th European Conference for Sociology*, August, Athens.

Bekiroğlu, S. (2015). "Everyday Life and Resistance Practices in the Prisons of Turkey: Poiēsis in the Prisons", *ESA 12th European Conference for Sociology*, August, Prague.

PRESENTATIONS AT THE NATIONAL PROFESSIONAL MEETINGS

Bekiroğlu, S. (2023). ""Savaşta Saklandığımız Yeri Ev gibi Yaptık": Cinsiyetlendirilmiş Bir Deneyim Olarak Savaş" *17. Ulusal Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi,* Şubat, Ankara.

Fidan, M. & Bekiroğlu, S. (2023). "Vicdanen Rahatım, Değiştirmeye Hazırım: Cinsiyetlendirilmiş Militarizm Karşısında Vicdani Ret Hareketi" *17. Ulusal Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi,* Şubat, Ankara.

Bekiroğlu, S. & Rittersberger-Tılıç, H. (2022). "Çağıran Mekânlar, Enkazlaşan Bellek", *Hasan Ünal Nalbantoğlu Sempozyumu IX: Zaman ve Bellek*, Haziran, Ankara.

Bekiroğlu, S. & Erdem, D. (2022). "Anıt Kavramının Tarihsel Yolculuğu: Mardin Anıt Şehri Örneği", *III. Uluslararası Dil, Düşünce ve Din Bilimleri Kongresi*, Mayıs, Mardin.

Bekiroğlu, S. (2019). "Anıtın Yıkımı: Diyarbakır Sur'un Yıkım Sonrası Kentsel Yapısının Bir Analizi", *16. Ulusal Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi,* Kasım, Ankara.

JOURNAL PUBLICATIONS

Bekiroğlu, S. & Topal, Ç. (2023). Everyday life and tactical resistance of the political prisoners: the case of F-type prisons in Turkey. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies.* https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2023.2173142

TRANSLATIONS (ENGLISH TO TURKISH)

Schmitt, C. (2017). *Partizan Teorisi [Theory of the Partisan].* Nika Yayınevi, Ankara.

RESEARCH-RELATED COMPUTED SOFTWARE REPERTOIRE

Quantitative Data Analysis Software

SPSS (Statistical Program for Social Science)

Reference Management and Transcription Software

- Mendeley
- Zotero
- Express Scribe

Data Analysis & Visualization Software

- MAXQDA
- Tableau
- Canva
- Adobe-Illustrator

Programming Languages

PYTHON (Beginner) - Preparation for

- Geospatial Analysis
- Data Cleaning
- Beginner Machine Learning

LANGUAGES

Turkish (Mother Tongue)
English (Fluent)
Ottoman Turkish (Beginner)

COURSE ASSISTED

Urban Sociology (Undergraduate, METU)	2016-2022
Demography and Population Dynamics (Undergraduate, METU)	2016-2022
Urban Policy and Theories (Graduate, METU)	2016-2022
Social Movements and Civic Action (Graduate, METU)	2016-2022

HONOURS AND AWARDS

Young Social Scientists Award 2019
Honorable Mention, Turkish Social Sciences Association
with M.S. thesis: "Everyday Life and Resistance Practices in F-type Prisons of Turkey"

Best Performance Award 2018
Graduate School of Social Science,
Middle East Technical University

AFFILIATIONS

Member, The European Sociological Association (ESA)
2022
Member, The European Association of Archaeologists
2022
Member, Social Science Association in Turkey
2020
Member, Turkish Social Science Association
2019
Member, METU Alumni Association
2017

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Sociology of War, Necropolitics, Urban Sociology, Theory of Space and Memory, Histories of Punishment and Imprisonment, Surveillance, Sociology of Everyday Life.

E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

6 Şubat 2023 tarihinde Türkiye, merkez üssü Kahramanmaraş olan 7,8 M_w ve 7,4 M_w büyüklüğünde iki deprem yaşamış, bu depremler on üç şehri etkilemiş ve altı şehri de yerle bir etmiştir. Yaklaşık 50.000 kişinin hayatını kaybetmesine ve on binlerce kişinin yaralanmasına neden olan bu yıkım, kentsel planlama, imar düzenlemeleri, devletin hesap verebilirliği, yardım çalışmalarındaki yetersizliği ve gecikmesi gibi konuları da gündeme getirmiştir. Söz konusu dönem, enkaz altından çaresizce yardım arayan bireyler, kentsel alanların gözle görülür şekilde harap olması, altyapının çökmesi ve enkazdan çıkan cansız ve yaralı uzuvların akıldan çıkmayan görüntüsü ile karakterize edildi. İhmal, önlem eksikliği ve hatalı mevzuat nedeniyle harabeye dönmüş kentsel alanların incelenmesi doğalında, enkaz üzerinden yapılan bir kent okumasına işaret etmektedir. Babası tarafından enkazın içerisinde tutulan merhum bir kız çocuğunun portresi, her biri ayrı bir hayata gönderme yapan kişisel eşyaların dokunaklı varlığıyla birlikte, kentlerin moloz ve yıkım ile olan ilişkisine kritik bir atıfta bulunur.

Yıkımın yaşandığı altı kentin ölümü, geleneksel kent analizlerinden farklı alternatif bir yoruma ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Kentsel şiddet olgusu iki farklı kategoriyi kapsamaktadır: bir yanda depremler, felaketler, yetersiz kentsel tasarım ve ilgisizlik nedeniyle harap olan kentler, diğer yanda ise ağır silahlarla hedefli saldırılara maruz kalan kentsel yerleşimler. Söz konusu ilk senaryo, *dolayımlı* bir yıkım türüyle ilgilidir. Kentlerin tahrip edilmesi, devlet güçlerinin ekonomik ve siyasi motivasyonlarla uyguladığı dolaylı etkiye bağlanmaktadır. Bu tür bir kentsel şiddet, kasıtlı ya da kasıtsız yıkımın varlığı ile karakterize edilir ve savaşta ve nekroiktidar uygulamalarında görülen açık şiddetten farklıdır. Bu bağlamda, 6 Şubat'ta meydana gelen sismik olayların kent ve enkaz arasındaki bağlantıya büyük ilgi çektiğini belirtmek gerekir. Ancak enkazın bu türüne ait kavramsallaştırma çabaları, silahlı çatışma dönemlerinde kentlerin kasıtlı olarak yok edilmesi konusuna kapsamlı bir açıklık getirmediğini kabul etmek önemlidir. Kentsel şiddetin dolayımlı yıkım olarak incelenmesinin, savaşın katıksız vahşeti tarafından harap edilen kentsel yerleşimlere odaklanan bu tezde kullanılan kavramsal çerçeve ile uyumsuz olduğunu kabul etmek

çok önemlidir. Bu tez kentsel şiddetin ikinci kategorisi olan *kentkırımı* açıklamaya çalışacaktır. Tezin temel amacı, nekropolitik bir analiz çerçevesi kullanarak, silahlı çatışmaların kentsel alanlarda yarattığı mekânsal ve zamansal tahribatı incelemektir. Bu tez, mekânsal yıkım, hafıza kaybı, şiddet ve ölümün yanı sıra kentsel yapının molozlaşmasını kentkırım fikri aracılığıyla yorumlanmasını kolaylaştırmayı amaçlayan teorik ve metodolojik yaklaşımların kapsamlı bir incelemesini içermektedir.

Bu çalışma, kentsel olanın sınırlarını belirlemeye yönelik bir girişimdir ve yıkım yoluyla aşılması durumunu sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Kentkırım, şehir plancıları, mimarlar ve araştırmacılar tarafından ortaya atılmış savaş yoluyla kentsel dokunun yıkımında ortaya çıkan yeni kentsel durumu anlamaya yönelik kavramsal bir araçtır. Her ne kadar bu kavramsal araç, savaş alanlarında ortaya çıkan bu yeni durumu tanımlamada büyük bir kolaylık sağlasa da sistematikleşmiş bir tanımını ortaya koyma açısından eksik kalmıştır. Bu çalışma, bu eksikliği doldurmak adına kentkırım kavramını, mekân, zaman, iktidar ilişkileri ve kurucu şiddet gibi dört temel unsur üzerinden incelemektedir. Bu anlamda, tez, nekropolitik bir yaklaşım ile birlikte çatışma sonucunda hafızanın zarar görmesi ve kentsel dokuya yönelik yıkım ve şiddete odaklanacaktır.

Yerküre, neredeyse insanlık tarihinin başlangıcından bu yana savaşın sahnesi olmuştur. Tarih boyunca, toplumsal yeniden üretimi ve onu oluşturan güç ilişkileri aracılığıyla bu ilişkiselliğin parçası olan yerküre, yerleşimlerin yok edilmesinin merkezleri olarak savaşın hedefi haline gelmiştir. En büyük eseri *Tarihte Kent* (1961) olan Lewis Mumford'un da tartıştığı gibi kent, aslında, Paleolitik çağdan Neolitik çağa kadar olan süreçte erkeklerin kadınlar üzerindeki egemenliği ile toplumsal bir olgu haline gelmiştir. Son üç yüzyıldaki 464 savaşı araştıran Wimmer ve Min'in çalışmasında, "savaşın toplumsal değişimin en önemli kaynağı olduğu, çünkü imparatorluklar, krallıklar, kabile konfederasyonları ve şehir devletlerinden oluşan modern öncesi dünyayı günümüz ulus-devletlerine dönüştürenin savaş olduğu" vurgulanmaktadır (aktaran Malešević, 2010a, p. 4). O zaman şu soru akla gelmektedir: Saraybosna, Halep, Gazze, Cenin, Sadaa, Sanaa, Trablus, Cizre ve Sur kentlerindeki yıkım, kent ve onun toplumsal yeniden üretimi hakkında ne söyler?

Böyle bir sorunsallaştırma, öncelikle kent nedir ve şehir nedir sorularına cevap aramayı gerektirir. Oxford İngilizce Sözlüğü'ne (OED) göre, kent kelimesinin kökeni Latince *urbanus*'tan gelmektedir ve "bir kent ya da kasabaya özgü olan, orada meydana gelen ya da yer alan" anlamını taşır (Coward, 2004, p. 165). Kentle ilgili ilk araştırmalar aslında sanayileşmenin şafağında Friedrich Engels'in çalışmalarıyla başlamış ancak konuyla ilgili bilimsel araştırmalar için yirminci yüzyılda *Chicago Okulu*'nun ortaya çıkmasını beklemek gerekmiştir. *Chicago Okulu* olarak bilinen Robert Park, Louis Wirth, Roderick McKenzie ve Ernest Burgess tarafından geliştirilen kent sosyolojisinde kentsel yaşam sürekli bir incelemeye tabi tutularak dikkat çekmeye başlamıştır. Bu incelemeler, kentin büyümesi ve kent kültürüne ilişkin bir açıklama geliştirme girişimi olarak kente ilişkin ilk kapsamlı teorilerdir. Darwinci bir perspektiften beslenen teori, kenti bir istila ve ardıllık alanı olarak ele alır. Kent anlayışına kentsel yaşam biçimi boyutunu ekleyen Louis Wirth olmuştur ki bu, 1960'larda toplumun yapısal anlayışından ziyade toplumsallaşma modeline odaklanan *Simmelci dönüş* gibi kent sosyolojisindeki teorik dönüşlerde önemli bir tartışmaya yol açmıştır. Daha sonra coğrafya, mimarlık, şehir planlama, siyaset ve sosyolojiyi içeren *Lefebvreci dönüş* (mekânsal dönüş) gelmektedir. Bu dönüşüm teorik kavrayışında kentten kentsel topluma geçişi varsayar. Lefebvre, *Kentsel Devrim* (2003) adlı kitabında, "toplumun tamamen kentleştiğini" iddia eder. Bu hipotez bir tanımı da beraberinde getirmektedir: Tam bir kentleşme sürecinin sonucu olan bir kent toplumu (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 1). Bu kent toplumunun ima ettiği şey, kent teriminden farklı olarak, avcı-toplayıcılar zamanındaki insan pratiğinin sıfır noktasından başlayıp günümüzün tamamen kentleşmiş dünyasına kadar uzanan bir kentsel pratiktir. Kent ya da daha doğru bir ifadeyle politik kent ise "örgütlü toplumsal yaşamın, tarımın ve köyün kuruluşuna eşlik eder ya da onları yakından takip eder" (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 8). Literatürde kentin kökeni ve anlamı arasında da bir benzerlik söz konusudur. Harmanşah'ın *Antik Yakın Doğu'da Şehirler ve Hafızanın Şekillenmesi* (2013) adlı eserinde, şehir kavramının Batı'da Latince *civitas* ve *civilization* kelimelerinden geldiği tartışılır. Bu anlamda Harmanşah'a göre "kültürler arası bir bakışla kentsel yaşam, ekonomik refah, siyasal istikrar, kültürel etkileşim idealleriyle dolu simgesel bir imge ve yeni bir toplumsal karmaşıklık barındırır" (2013, p. 25). Bu nedenle bu tez, şehir kelimesinin kökeninden gelen kültürel ve sosyal etkileşimin oluşturduğu bu sembolik imgenin tahribatını anlamaya yönelik bir girişimdir.

Her ne kadar bir şehrin yıkımını ceset, cesedin ölüm nedeninin ve arkasındaki dinamiklerin araştırılmasını da adli otopsi olarak tanımladığımızda meseleyi tıbbîleştirerek basite indirgemiş olsak da kurulan analoji tezin araştırma sorusunu daha net bir şekilde ortaya koyduğu için indirgeme hatası riski göz ardı edilmiştir. Patolojik ve eğitim temelli otopsi anlayışlarının dışında kalan adli otopside ceset, adli numunedir. Yaşayanları bağlayan hukuk formu, ölümün adlîleştiği cinayet şüphesinde cesetleri de kapsamış olur. Yani bu durumu şehre uyarladığımızda, şehrin yıkımı bir adli numune haline gelerek, hukukun enkazı kapsadığı bir durum oluşmuştur. Adlîleşen ölü beden ya da kent, üzerinde yapılan belli işlemlerle incelemeye tabi tutulur. Klasik otopside iç-boşaltma teknikleri vücudun üç bölgesi temel alınarak yapılır: Baş bölgesi, göğüs bölgesi ve batın. İnceleme sonucunda öznel yorumlamaların ve nesnel sonuçların yer aldığı bir adli protokol oluşturulur: Ölüm nedeni ve teşhisler öznel kısımda tartışılırken, makroskobik ve mikroskobik sonuçlar nesnel kısımda yer verilir (Adams, 2009, p. 130). Bu çalışma, bir nevi adli kent otopsisi için protokol oluşturma iddiasındadır. Parçalara ayırma tekniği olarak, Eleştirel söylem analizi ile birlikte görsel metodolojiyi kullanarak kentteki yıkımı mekân, zaman, savaş ve nekropolitika olmak üzere dört temel boyutta inceler. Ortaya koyduğu saha araştırması sonuçları, çeşitli raporlar, haritalar, görsel materyaller adlî otopsi protokolünün nesnel kısmına denk düşmektedir. Eleştirel söylem analizi ile sunulan yıkımın dinamikleri, buna bağlı faillik tartışmaları ve kentsel yıkımın sistematik ve planlanmış bir kentkırım olup olmadığına ilişkin yorumlayıcı yaklaşım protokolün öznel denebilecek kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Bu incelemenin bir adli otopsi mi yoksa *feth-i kabir* mi olduğu sorusu ise okuyucu için tez boyunca zorlayıcı bir sorunsallaştırma olarak kalacaktır.

Chicago Okulu ve Simmel ve Lefevbre'nin mekânsal dönüşleri dışında, özellikle özne inşası, güç ilişkileri, yapı-fail ilişkisine odaklanan eleştirel teori de bu tez açısından önemli bir yere oturmaktadır. Eleştirel teoride öznenin politik inşası, bireylerin gündelik hayatlarının, bilinç düzeyinde olmasa bile toplumsal, politik ekonomik koşullar tarafından şekillendiğini ve bunun tersinin de geçerli olduğunu savunur. Bu durumda, Katılımlı Eylem Araştırması (KEA) açısından iki önemli iddia desteklenmiş olur. İlki görüşülenlerin gündelik yaşamlarındaki güç ilişkilerine dikkat çekmektedir. Araştırmacı, araştırdıklarının bir güç ilişkileri yumağı içerisinde değerlendirdiğinin farkındalığını sahiplenmelidir. Bu durum özellikle hassas, tehlikeli ve güç ilişkilerinin

derinleştiği araştırmalarda çok daha önemlidir. İkinci olarak ise araştırmacının kendi pozisyonunun farkında olması iddiası KEA'nın temel öğelerinden birini oluşturur. Öz-düşünümsel bir konumlanış gerektiren bu metodolojik yaklaşım, araştırmacının pozisyonunun hem bir iktidar biçimi hem de bir sömürü ilişkisine işaret eden kısmına odaklanır. Benzer bir biçimde feminist teori de eleştirel teorinin özne inşası tartışmasına katkıda bulunarak metodolojik olarak KEA'yı besler. Özellikle görünmeyenin görünür hale getirilmesi, gündeliğin politik kavranışı noktasında KEA'ya katkı sunar. Son olarak, eleştirel eğitim kuramcıların Paul Freire'nin "vicdanileştirme" [*conscientization*] kavramı ile pratiğin teoriyle birleşmesini kavramsallaştırılır.

Araştırmacı ve gerçeklik arasındaki ilişkilenmenin hangi araç ve yöntemlerle yapıldığı ve bunun metodolojik arka planı, araştırmayı özgün kılan taraflarından biridir. Bu anlamda, tezin teknik altyapısı hakkında da vitrinsel bir bakış gerekli olmaktadır. Her ne kadar buraya kadar bahsedilenler epistemolojik bir çağrışım yapsa da tezin yıkım ile kurduğu ilişki ontolojik bir yere oturmaktadır. Teknik kelimesinin pozitivist bir tonlaması olduğunu kabul etmekle birlikte, burada kurulan anlam, daha Foucaultcu bir yerden temellenmektedir. Özellikle araştırmacı ve araştırma nesnesi arasındaki ilişki açısından yaklaşıldığında meselenin iktidar ilişkisi boyutu ortaya çıkacaktır.

Epistemolojik anlamda araştırma yöntemlerinin hakim modelleri, realist ve idealist temellendirmeler üzerine kuruludur. Gerçeğe yaklaşım açısından realist model, idealist modelden araştırmacının konumu ve gerçeklik tanımı açısından ayrılır. Realist bir araştırmacı için toplumsal gerçeklik, bilen özneden bağımsız bir şekilde var olur ve özne, ancak ve ancak objektif bir şekilde değerlerinden arınırsa bu gerçekliğe ulaşır. Bu anlamda, bilme ediminde, değer ve gerçek ile birlikte özne ve araştırmacı da birbirinden ayrılır. Böylece bilen özne ve bilinen nesne arasında objektif olarak adlandırılan hiyerarşik bir ilişki kurulur. Diğer taraftan, idealist model ise toplumsal gerçekliği tümüyle bilen öznenin bir üretimi olarak görür. Bu tezin iddiası çerçevesinde, gerçeklik, özneden ayrılabilen ve ulaşmak için objektif araçlar üretmemiz gereken bir hal değildir. Araştırmacı ya da bilen özne objektif bir temellendirme yapılmaksızın gerçeklik ile ilişkilenebilir. Burada çok kaba hatlarıyla ele aldığımız bu iki model, Foucault tarafından bir nevi birleştirilmektedir. Bu tez boyunca sadık kalınan bu metodik yaklaşıma göre, ne araştırmacı değerlerinden arındırılabilir bir var olma biçimidir ne de gerçeklik salt bir ideadır. Bütün bu

ilişkilenme biçimi bir güç ilişkisidir. Bu refleksif anlayış, tez boyunca hem etik hem de teknik olarak izlenilen bir düsturdur.

Bir sosyal araştırmacının sahip olması gereken metodolojik çerçevede değerlendirilebilecek beş özellikten bahsedebiliriz. Bu niteliklerden ilki olan *samimiyet*, araştırmacının herhangi bir şey saklamadığı, diğer araştırmacılar ve araştırma nesnesi arasında ayrım yapmadan var olanı ortaya koyduğu bir sürece işaret eder. İkinci özellik, inanma ve gerçeklik arasında kurulan ilişkiye dayanır. *Eleştirel tutum*, ilahî bir varlığa tevekkülü engelleyici yönüyle ünlenmesinin yanı sıra inanç ve hakikat arasında kesin bir tevatür bulunur. Foucault, bu durumu şöyle tanımlar: "hakikati konuşan, sadece samimi değildir ve sadece kendi fikrini söylemez, ama onun fikri aynı zamanda gerçektir. Doğru olduğunu bildiği şeyi söyler" (Foucault, 1986, p. 14). Bu özellik, araştırmacının öznel pozisyonu ve bu konumlanışta da bir hakikat bulunduğunu gösterir. Tehlike ve *parrhesia* [hakikati söylemek] arasındaki ilişki ise araştırmacının hakikatle olan ilişkisiyle bağlantılıdır. Hakikatle kurulan ilişki risk içerir. Özcesi, hakikat ve risk mündemiçtir "çünkü *parrhesia*'da tehlike her zaman söz konusu gerçeğin muhatabı incitebilecek veya kızdırabilecek olmasından kaynaklanır" (Foucault, 1986, p. 14). Bu da muhatabı eleştirmeyi beraberinde getirmektedir. Bu basitçe gerçeğin sözcüsü olmak değil, güçsüzden güçlüye, yani aşağıdan yukarıya bir eleştiriyi içermektedir. Araştırmacının hakikatle kurduğu ilişkideki motivasyonu ise siyasal ahlak üzerinden gerçekleşmektedir.

Saha çalışmasında maruz kalma ihtimalimin olduğu gözaltı ya da bazı legal-pratik zorluklar nedeniyle öncelikle kriptolojinin saha araştırmasında kullanımına yönelik nimetlerinden faydalandım. Amacım hem veri güvenliğini hem katılımcıların güvenliğini ve araştırmacı olarak kendi güvenliğimi sağlamaktı. Bu nedenle, saha çalışması sırasında veriyi güvenli bir şekilde şifreleyebileceğim yöntemler öğrendim. Yanı sıra fotoğraf, saha notu, görüşme kayıtlarını depolayabileceğim tezimle ilgili bir e-posta hesabı açtım. Buraya tüm yüklemelerimi şifrelendirdikten sonra VPN (Sanal Özel Ağ) kullanarak yaptım. Aynı zamanda, tezimi bilen ve çalışmanın içeriğinin farkında olan Diyarbakır dışındaki iki araştırma partnerime yine şifrelenmiş bir şekilde güvenilir uygulamalar üzerinden verinin gönderimini sağladım. Partnerlerimde de e-posta hesabı bilgilerim bulunduğu için tüm verilerim iki farklı bilgisayarda şifreli bir şekilde depolandı. Fakat bu güvenlik problemini çözmeye yetmedi. Birincisi, veriyi şifrelemek çok zaman aldığı için bazı mekânlarda uzun süre kalmam dikkat çekmeye

başladı. Ek olarak, görüşme yaptığım insanlar tedirginlik yaşadılar. Diğer görüşmelere bu nedenle gecikmelerim yüzünden yine benzer güvenlik endişe ve kaygıları diğer görüşmelerimde de yaşamak zorunda kaldım. İkinci olarak, şifreleme anında bir gözaltı yaşanması durumunda, durumu kriminalize ederek meselenin marjinalleştirilmesine de neden olunabilirdi. Benim saha çalışmamda böyle bir durum yaşanmadı, ama alanda daha uzun süre kalsaydım gerçekleşmesi muhtemeldi. Üçüncü olarak, veri şifrelenmiş olmasına rağmen deşifre ve analiz için mecburen daha erişilebilir kılmam gerekti. Çatışma alanının olduğu bir ortamda yeterince dikkat çekmiş bir araştırmacı olarak veriyi erişilebilir kılmam saha çalışmamı yaptığım alanın dışında da tehlikeli hale getirebilirdi. Gerçekleşmesi diğer durumlara göre daha düşük olan bu olasılık benim başıma geldi. Tezimin analiz kısmına geçtiğim dolayısıyla verimin deşifreli olduğu bir zamanda evim basılarak gözaltına alındım. Bilgisayarım dahil bütün dijital materyalime el konuldu ve kopyası alınarak emniyet kayıtlarına geçmiş oldu. Verimin anonimliğinin yitirilmesinin yanında görüşme yaptığım insanların, araştırmacı olarak benim ve araştırmamda yer alan kurumların güvenlik problemi yeniden gün yüzüne çıkmış oldu. Saha çalışmamı tekrarlamak istediğimde hakkımdaki soruşturma bahane edilerek görevlendirmem yapılmadı ve şehir dışına çıkışım engellendi. Daha sonra hakkımda ceza davası açıldı, yurtdışı çıkış yasağı konuldu. Araştırma görevlisi olarak çalıştığım üniversite olan Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'nde açığa alındım. Hem yüksek lisans tezim hem de doktora çalışmama ilişkin evrak, mahkeme dosyasının bir parçası haline geldi. Hatta çalışmalarımı yaptığım ve 15 yıldır zamanımın büyük bir çoğunluğunu geçirdiğim Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi merkez kampüsüne girişim engellendi. Beni yargılayan mahkeme Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'den, yüksek lisans tezimin bir kopyasını, tezle bağlantılı diğer çalışmalarımı ve aynı zamanda etik kurul onayı ve ilgili görevlendirmelerimi de dahil ederek doktora tezimin üniversitede bulunan evrakını istedi.

Savaş, yıkım, travma, ölüm, kayıp üzerine bir araştırmada, araştırmacının konumlanışı ve araştırma nesnesine yaklaşımı, siyasal-etik yönü diğer çalışma alanlarına kıyasla daha fazla ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bunun nedenlerinden biri kamusal görünürlük kazandırılan arşivlerin, kayıtların ya da deneyimlerin artık legal, etik, yaşamsal sonuçlarının araştırmacının kontrolünden çıkmasıyla birlikte sorumluluğun devam etmesi olmaktadır. Özellikle 1990 sonrası televizüel bir döneme girilmesiyle birlikte, arşiv ve kayıt altına almanın etik-bilimsel yönleri daha fazla tartışmaya açılmıştır.

Muteber kayıt, mağdurun izlerinin takibi, kameranın (ya da dilin) kadraj sınırlarının olması nedeniyle kayıt dışı kalanlar, görünmez mıntıkalar: tüm bunlar araştırmacı açısından gerçeklik ile kurduğu ilişki nedeniyle önemli sorumluluklar yükler. Bir savaşın ya da yıkımın kaydını tutup izini sürmek, bu anlamda, başlı başına siyasal bir iştir. Dolayısıyla, buradan elde edilen veri, alınan kayıtlar sadece müstakbel bir yüzleşme ve barış ortamı için değil, en çok da mümkün bir müşterek zemini oluşturmak için kullanılabilir. Burada araştırmacıya düşen siyasal-etik görev ise açığa çıkardıklarının tartışılmasını sağlamak ve kayıtları özenli bir şekilde korumaktır. Bunu yaparken gözden kaçırılmaması gereken en önemli noktalardan biri, kayıt fetişizmi yapmadan kaydın ya da arşivin toplumsal rolünü oynamasını mümkün kılmak ve buna izin vermek olmalıdır. Bu noktaya dikkat edilmediğinde, özellikle çatışma araştırmalarında oradaki koşullardan kaynaklı karşılaşılan bir inkâr ve gerçeği çarpıtma durumu ortaya çıkabilir: Kayıt altına alınmamış olması, şeylerin gerçek olmadığına varan bir iddiayı da doğrulamış olur. Elizabeth Edwards'ın iddiası bu ihtimali şöyle açmaktadır: kayıtlar, yokluklarında olmayan şeylere yol açabilirler. Bu anlamda, kayıt ya da arşiv, failliği çoğaltır ve dağıtır.

Araştırmacının kişisel arka planına gelirsek bunun genellikle göz ardı edilen fakat araştırma sorusu kadar önemli olan bir nokta olduğunu kabul etmemiz gerekir. Maschi'nin ikili görüş olarak adlandırdığı anlayışa bir de iç görü [inner vision] ya da ayna görü [mirror vision] olarak adlandırılabilecek yeni bir element ekleyebiliriz. Bu noktada, araştırmacı ideal-gerçek dünya arasında salınırken aynı zamanda bu salınıma şahit olan kişi olarak kendi pozisyonuna da öz-düşünümsel ve eleştirel bir bakış atar. Bu elbette pozitivist anlamda tamamlanabilecek bir süreç değildir. Öznenin sürekli inşası, her zaman arkasında bir eksik, şimdide bir fazlalık bırakır. O nedenle, burada söylenenler kadar, söylenmeyenler, tercih edilenler kadar vazgeçilenler de kıymetlidir.

Bu tez düşüncesi ilk doğduğunda amacım Orta Doğu'da bir kentkırım okuması yapmaktı. Suriye, Irak, Türkiye, Lübnan ve Filistin'i de dahil eden geniş kapsamlı bu okuma hem kentkırım kavramının daha sistematik bir kavramsallaştırmasını kolaylaştıracak, hem de tarihsel ve coğrafi bir bütünlük halinde ele alınmasını sağlayacaktı. Tezin *Giriş* [*Introduction*] ve *Araştırma Dizaynı* [*Research Design*] bölümlerinde belirttiğim Türkiye'nin siyasal atmosferi, karşı karşıya kaldığım hukuksuz ve cezalandırıcı süreçler, ekonomik kısıtlar, Türkiye'de araştırmaya ayrılan fonların yetersizliği (neredeyse yokluğu), bölgenin çok etnikli yapısı nedeniyle

karşılaşılabilecek dil problemleri gibi gerekçeler, saha alanımı daraltmama yol açtı. Türkiye ölçeğine indirgenmiş bu çalışma, bir sonraki ölçek belirleme sürecinde, 2015 sonrası yıkımın büyük bir kısmının gerçekleştiği Güneydoğu Bölgesi'ne odaklanmıştı. Tezin ilk iki yılında, bu bölgeye yönelik literatür taraması, saha araştırması için iletişim ağı oluşturma gibi işler üzerinde duruldu. Bu sürecin sonunda, 2015 sonrası yıkıma uğramış dört yerleşim yeri saha çalışması için belirlendi: Sur (Diyarbakır), Cizre (Şırnak), Nusaybin (Mardin), ve Yüksekova (Hakkâri). Bu dört yerleşimin önemi, 2015 sonrası süreçte devletin silahlı gücünün topyekûn saldırdığı, sivil kayıpların en fazla olduğu ve aynı zamanda kentsel altyapının neredeyse tümüyle ortadan kaldırıldığı yerleşimler olmasıydı. Hatta bu yerleşimlerden kentkırım bağlamında incelediğim ilk yerleşim, yukarıda da bahsettiğim gibi, kişisel tarihimde bir dönüm noktası olan Cizre olmuştu. Yıkım ve yok etme sürecini elimden hiçbir şey gelmemesinin verdiği üzüntüyle Ankara'da evimde izliyordum. O dönem henüz kapatılmamış uydu üzerinden izlenen televizyon kanallarında ara sıra canlı olarak da verilen haberler, orada bulunan aktivist, milletvekili, gazetecilerin canlı olarak girdikleri haberler üzerinden takip ediyordum. Canlı yayında insanların son sözlerini, üzerlerine atılan bombaların sesini ve bomba atılan o bodrumda evladı bulunan annenin çığlığı bir daha düzelmemek üzere bir şeylerin koptuğunu imledi. Devamında gelen Barış İçin Akademisyenler imza kampanyası ve bu nedenle yargılanma süreci, çalışma alanımı daha da netleştirmeme neden oldu. Sahamın dört parçasından birini oluşturan Sur, ilk saha araştırma noktası olarak planladım. Sur'u seçmemin temel nedeni ise oldukça pragmatikti. Birincisi Diyarbakırlı olan pek çok arkadaşım vardı ve bağlantı, lojistik destek anlamında işimi kolaylaştıracaktı. İkinci olarak, konunun hassas ve "tehlikeli" olması büyük ve daha çok metropol özelliği taşıyan bir şehirde başlamam gerektiğini söylüyordu. Hareket alanım daha geniş olacaktı, öngördüğüm ya da tahmin etmediğim çeşitli tehlikeli durumlara karşı daha rahat çözümler geliştirebilecektim. Üçüncüsü ise turistik bir şehirde böylesine hassas bir konuda göze batmadan, adeta kamufle olarak çalışma yürütebilme rahatlığına sahip olacak olma ihtimalimdi. İlk saha çalışmamdan sonra amacım, Cizre ve Nusaybin bağlantılarımı ayarlayıp, önümüzdeki 5 ayda Yüksekova'yı da dahil ederek veri toplama aşamasını bitirmekti. Görüşmelerimi Haziran 2020'de tümüyle bitecek şekilde ayarladım. Fakat 2020'de patlak veren COVİD-19 pandemisi nedeniyle tüm görüşmelerim iptal oldu. Şehirlerarası giriş-çıkış yasakları, pandeminin getirdiği fiziksel mesafe korkusu bir süre daha ertelememi gerektirdi. Devamında ise, gözaltı, dava, açığa alınma sürecimle

birlikte sahamın bu geniş halinden vazgeçmek zorunda kaldım. Elimde olan veriler, Diyarbakır Sur'daki süreci anlamlandırmama yeterliydi. Dolayısıyla, çalışmam doğalında bir daralma sürecine girmiş oldu.

İletişim ağının oluşturulması ve zaman planlaması, doktora tezi gibi uzun süren ve aslında çok fazla paydaşı olan bir iş için çok önemlidir. Özellikle nitel araştırmalar bu açıdan bakıldığında diğer araştırma biçimlerine kıyasla daha emek-yoğundurlar. Bu tür çalışmalarda iletişim ağını oluşturma ve zaman planlaması baştan düzenlenirse tüm paydaşlar için süreç daha rahat ve şeffaf yürüyecektir. Yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi, bu tür çalışmalar bir ekip iş birliği gerektirir. Pek çok doktora çalışmasında olduğu gibi bu tezde de sürecin en önemli meselelerinden biri de bu iş birliği çabası olmuştur. Tez danışmanı, araştırmacı, komite üyeleri, görsel veri ve güvenlik sorunları için teknik yardımcılar, kodlama ve analiz için akran partnerler, çalışmanın temel paydaşlarıdırlar. İş birliği her paydaş için aşağıda kısaca belirtildiği şekilde sağlanmıştır. Tezin yazım sürecinde danışmanla belli aralıklar ile yapılan toplantı ve görüşmeler; tez İzleme komitelerinin çalışmanın tüm seyrine şahit olacakları ve her aşamasında katkı koyup eleştiri getirebilmeleri için oluşturulan jüriler; teknik destek sağlayan yardımcılarla hem saha çalışması sırasında hem de tezin görsellerinin hazırlandığı süreçte yapılan atölye ve toplantılar; ilksel kodlama ve kodlama sonrası süreçte akran partnerler ile toplantılar.

Zaman planı ise daha çok tez izleme komitelerinde belirlenmiş olup tarafımca jüri üyelerine çalışmanın her aşamasında sunulmuştur. Zamanlama aksaklıklar olduğunda üyelere bilgilendirme yapılmış ve yeni plan oluşturulmuştur. 2020 yılında COVİD-19 Pandemisinin araya girmesi tez yazımını aksatmış ve tezde metodolojik bazı değişikliklere neden olmuştur. Özellikle saha çalışması planlaması için önemli olabilecek bazı değişikliklere gidilmiştir. Bunlardan en önemlisi çalışmanın başında tasarlanmış saha alanlarının pandemi nedeniyle iptal edilmiş olup tezin Diyarbakır, Sur ile sınırlı kalması olmuştur. Ayrıca hem pandemi hem de siyasi nedenlerle Diyarbakır'a tekrar bir ziyaret yapılamamış, dolayısıyla mevcut verinin daha da zenginleştirilmesi gerçekleştirilememiştir.

Görüşme soruları hazırlanırken tez izleme komitesinde tartışılan başlıklar ile birlikte, teorik arka planın gerektirdiği temalar dikkate alınmıştır. İlk olarak belirlenen kategoriler, tezin iskeletini de oluşturan dört temel hat olmuştur. Tekrarlamak

gerekirse zaman, mekân, savaş ve nekropolitika bu dört hattı oluşturur. Soruların, kentte yaşanan yıkımın bu dört temel boyutunu açığa çıkarması planlanmıştır. Görüşme esnasında kolaylık sağlaması açısından aşağıda yer alan her görüşme grubuyla ilgili sorular, bu dört hat dikkate alınarak hazırlanmıştır. Görüşmeler esnasında görüşülenler arasında çokça değişikliğe uğrayan sorular, genel olarak görüşülen kişiler tarafından dönüştürülmüştür. Ayrıca görüşme sonrasında araştırmacılara büyük kolaylık sağlayan görüşme formları/kartları oluşturulmuştur. Her görüşme sonrası gün içerisinde bu formlar doldurulmuş ve analiz ederken mülakatların hatırlanması kolaylaşmıştır.

Kodlama süreci, kodların oluşturulması, deşifresi yapılan görüşmelerin kodlanması, görsel ve işitsel materyalin kodlanması ve tüm bu süreçlerin sağlamasından oluşur. Kodlar, tarihsel, kavramsal, tematik, pratik olmak üzere dört temel kategoriye göre yapılandırılmıştır. Tarihsel kodlamada, Türkiye siyasi tarihinde önemli tarihsel momentlere bir sıra içerisinde yer verilmiştir. Ama burada asıl olan savaş öncesi, savaş sırası ve savaş sonrası sürece yönelik kodlamalardır. Kavramsal kodlama, ilksel süreçte teorik arka planın temel kavramsal çerçevesi etrafında şekillenmiştir. Tekrar kodlamalarda ise hem veriden gelen belli araştırma desenleri hem de teorik okumaların detaylandırılması ile ortaya çıkan kavramlar da bu kısma eklenmiştir. Bu kısımda benzerlik, farklılık, sıklık ve alaka temel belirleyenler olmuşlardır. Tematik kodlama, kavramsal kodlamadan farklı olarak teorik bir zeminden ziyade doğrudan veriden gelen ve önemli vurguları içeren araştırma desenlerinden oluşur. Son olarak, verinin epigrafı olarak kullanılabilecek hem tezin teorik hem de etik boyutunu öz olarak barındıran aktarımların kodlanmasından oluşan pratik kodlama yapılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada sadece dilden dile bir çevriyazı bulunmamaktadır. Aynı zamanda, sözelden yazılı olana, görsel olandan sözele, yazılı olandan görsele bir çevriyazı bulunur. Sözel olanın metne dönüştürülmesi belli dijital araçların yardımıyla bizzat araştırmacı tarafından yapılmıştır. Bu araçlar şunlardır: *ExpressScribe, GoogleDocs Dictation, Dictation Version 3.32 (226), Voicedoc. Motamot [Verbatim]* bir çeviri tercih edilmiştir. Çeviride, anlamı değiştiren duygusal ifadelerde, yoğun mimik kullanımında ve pekiştirmenin belirtilmesinin önemli olduğu yerlerde gülme, kahkaha, ağlama, bağırma, sessiz kalma, yüz ifadesi, bedensel dışa vurumlar gibi açıklayıcı ifadelere yer verilmiştir. Görsel olandan sözele dönüştürme daha çok mülakat sırasında görüşmecilere verilen foto-dokümanlarının yorumlanmasının istendiği durumlarda ve

çalışmanın dördüncü bölümündeki görsel analizlerde kullanılmıştır. Son olarak metnin imaja dönüştürülmesi ise, foto-dokümantasyonun bizzat kendisini oluşturur. Çünkü çalışmada kullanılan imajlar, Sur'daki yıkım anlatısının görselleştirilmesini ifade etmektedir.

Bir yıkımın kentkırım olduğu iddiası için araştırmacının bu dört temel sacayağı konusunda kafasının net olması gerekmektedir. Bunlardan ilki, kentkırımın mekâna bağlı olması özelliğidir. Peki ne tür mekândan bahsediyoruz? Lefebvre haklı olarak mekânın metrik ve Öklidyen kanonik anlayışına karşı çıkarak merceği onun toplumsal olarak nasıl üretildiğine çevirmiştir. Toplumsal bir mercek ile bakıldığında mekânın salt bir koordinat sisteminde yer kaplamadan çok daha fazla ve farklı bir kavramsallaştırılması ile karşılaşırız. Toplumsal olarak üretilen mekân, hem fiziksel mekânın tasarlanması ile oluşan bir yer hem de kullanıcılar tarafından *yaşanılan* bir düzlemdir. Meseleye buradan bakıldığında, mekânın üretimi (inşası) kadar onun yıkımı (yokluğu) da toplumsal lenslerle okunması gerektiği aşikardır. Zira, yıkım var olanın salt bir form değiştirerek enkaza dönmesi demek değildir. Diyalektik bir süreç içerisinde ele alınması gerekir. Arapça enkaz ve tenakuz kelimelerinin aynı kökten türemesini ele aldığımızda bu bağlantıyı daha net bir şekilde görebiliriz. Her iki kelime de Arapça "yıkma, tahrip etme, geçersiz kılma, çelme" anlamına gelen "*nḳḍ"* kökünden gelmektedir. Enkaz, yıkıntının çoğulu olan harabat anlamını taşır. Tenakuz ise, diyalektik bir sürecin tasviri gibi "çelişme, kendi kendini tahrip etme" şeklinde tanımlanmaktadır. Bu çelişkili süreç, yıkımı toplumsal bir perspektiften okuduğu zaman, enkazın maddi varlığı ile birlikte, onun yapı bozumunu ve yaşayanlar tarafından deneyimlenen ölüm düzlemini de, tıpkı mekânın üretimindeki gibi, göz önüne almak gereklidir: Yokluk, yapı bozumu ve ölüm üzerinden bir okuma.

Mekân aynı zamanda farklı çehreleri olan, farklı kardinal işaretler üzerinden kavranan bir nosyondur. Yaşanılan yıkım, kentin farklı çehrelerinde farklı psiko-sosyal ve kültürel anlamlar taşır. Yerin altında ve üstünde yaşanılan yıkımların niteliksel olarak farklılaştığı noktalar bulunmaktadır.

İkinci olarak, bu tez, böylesine bir yıkıcı şiddetin zamansal bir boyutunun olduğu iddiasındadır. Lefebvre'in ritimanaliz yaklaşımı bu noktada önemli bir kavramsal araç seti sunmaktadır. Dolayısıyla düzensizliğin ve belirsizliğin kendini gösterdiği durumlarda *senkop* kavramı da kentlerde savaş nedeniyle yaşanan zamansal

kırılmaları anlamlandırmak için kilit bir rol üstlenmektedir. Mevcut çalışma bağlamında, Lefebvre'in ritimanaliz teorisini takip ederek, temel sorunsallaştırmalardan biri, anıtların yıkılmasıyla kolektif hafızanın silinmeye çalışılmasıyla kentsel dokunun tahrip edilmesi sonucunda gündelik yaşamda bir aritmi oluştuğunda, kentlilerin nasıl bir kentsel deneyim yaşadıklarıdır. O halde soru, ritimdeki senkopun kentsel deneyim kavramı üzerindeki etkilerinin araştırılmasına dayanıyor.

Bu çalışma kapsamında ele alındığı şekliyle savaş, basitçe *Öteki*'nin yok edilmesine dayanan ölümcül bir insanlık pratiğidir. İki muharip gücün günün teknolojik gelişimine bağlı olarak çeşitli ekipmanlar kullanarak kendisi için Öteki olanı boyun eğdirerek iktidar alanını genişletme performansıdır. Günümüz *yönsüzleşmiş savaşlar*ında bu performans, şiddetin sınırlarının kalktığı ve sivil-asker ayrımının yapılmadığı ölümcül bir siyaset alanına çekilmektedir. Mekânların, sınırların, kimliklerin, anıtsal yapıların yanı sıra insanın bedenselliği de savaşan güçlerin hedeflerinden biridir. Bu, kemikler molozdur özdeyişine dayanan *Ölüm*'ün olumsuzluğu olarak özetlenebilir. Dolayısıyla insan kemikleri özellikle çok sayıda insanın birlikte ve aynı anda öldürüldüğünü ortaya konduğunda hayatta olanları diğer kalıntılardan daha fazla etkileyen temel savaş aracı ve savaşın bizatihi hedefidir. Savaşın bu anlamda nekropolitik bir iktidar çerçevesinde ele alınması oldukça mühimdir.

Achille Mbembe'nin nekropolitik teorisi, ölüleri iktidar bağlamında ele almak olarak özetlenebilir. Egemenlik, kimin yaşayacağını ve kimin öleceğini seçme hakkı ile tanımlanır ve bu da tanımlayıcı bir özellik olarak hizmet eder. Mbembe bu boyun eğdirme yöntemini terörle yönetme olarak adlandırmaktadır ve bunun mekânsallaştırma ve kolonileştirme iş birliğiyle sağlandığı onun için açıktır. Ölü bedenler üzerinden gerçekleştirilen bu disipline etme şekli, özellikle sömürge siyaseti açısından kavramsal bir öneme sahiptir. Modern çağ, Holokost, Apartheid ve toplu katliamların şeyleştirildiği bir dönem olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Tarihin tanıklık ettiği en kanlı ve en fazla ölümlü insan kıyımları bu dönemde gerçekleşmiştir. İnsan eliyle gerçekleştirilen bu felaketin gerçek deneyimi, insanı insan olmayandan ayıran modern düşünce biçiminde kök salmıştır. *Aydınlanma*'dan devralınan modern akıl, özne ile nesne arasında birincisine öncelik veren ontolojik bir hiyerarşi yaratmıştır. Yukarıda da değindiğimiz gibi, Latour'un "iki ayrı ontolojik bölge yaratan" alanları ayıran

saflaştırma olarak tanımladığı bu posthümanist durum moderniteyi insan dışılığın doğuşu olarak tanımlar (Latour, 1993, p. 10). Bu tez kapsamında ele aldığımız iktidar anlayışı, ölümün ve yıkımın fetişleştirilmesine ve kurumsallaştırılmasına dayanmaktadır.

Özcesi, Sur'daki yıkımın bir kentkırım olduğuna ilişkin kavramsallaştırma denemesi olan bu tez, dört temel boyutuna odaklanarak yıkımın kentsel doğasına ilişkin bir açıklama yapmaktadır. Kavramsal olarak enflasyona uğratılmış kentkırım, yıkımın dört asli boyutuna odaklanılarak sistematik ve bütünsel bir tanımlama ile yeniden ele alınmıştır. İlk olarak mekânsal boyut, öncelikle mekânsal yıkımın kardinal noktalarına ve savaş alanının görünümüne odaklanmaktadır. Kentkırımın dikey ve yatay görünümleri ve görünümlerinin kentsel formlarına bakılarak mekânsal boyut irdelenmiştir. İkinci kısma gelindiğinde, yıkımın zamansal boyutuna odaklanıldığı görülecektir. Özellikle, gündelik ritimde meydana gelen senkoplar ve toplumsal hafızada oluşan kırılmalar ele alınmıştır. Militarist sembollerin ve araçların birer parçası haline geldiği, bomba seslerinin arka fonu oluşturduğu gündelik hayat, yine onun bir parçası haline gelen anıtların yıkımı kentkırımın yarattığı zamansal kırılmaları göstermektedir. Üçüncü olarak, bu tez, kentkırımın en temelde bir savaş nedeniyle kentsel dokusunun yıkımı olduğunu savunmaktadır. Diyarbakır Sur'da operasyonlar boyunca ve sonrasında ağır silahların kullanımına yönelik bir araştırmaya girişilmiştir. Aynı zamanda, savaş boyunca savaşın tanımına ve onun toplumsal cinsiyet boyutuna odaklanılmıştır. Son olarak, savaş döneminde yaşanılan ölümlerin ve ölüm üzerinden yürütülen siyasetin bir tartışması yapılmıştır. Cenazeler ve cesetlerin kentkırımda kentin dokusuyla nasıl hemhal olduğu ele alınmıştır.

F. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences ☒

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : BEKİROĞLU
Adı / Name : Sibel
Bölümü / Department : Sosyoloji / Sociology

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): CONCEPTUALIZING URBICIDE: SPACE, MEMORY, WAR, AND NECROPOLITICS

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / ☐ **Doktora** / PhD ☒

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. /** Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years. *** ☐
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. ***** ☐

***** *Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.*

Yazarın imzası / Signature ..... **Tarih** / Date .....
(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)
(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)

Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.